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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

JOSEPH LISTER,

OF BRADFORD.

EDITED BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M. A.

Price 4s.

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L7A3
1842

Mr Benjamin Wright
from his nephew,
Thomas Wright

Eldest Mr Greenwood's London 1842.

Mr Benjamin Wright
to his Nephew
William Greenwood

Huddersfield 1846.

M121/1660

AN

Historical Narrative

OF THE LIFE OF

JOSEPH LISTER,

Sometime belonging to the Religious Society at Kipping, in Bradford-dale, in Yorkshire.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH LISTER,

OF BRADFORD IN YORKSHIRE,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF

THE DEFENCE OF BRADFORD AND CAPTURE OF LEEDS

BY THE PARLIAMENTARIANS IN 1642.

EDITED BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M. A., F.S.A. &c.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

4, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO.

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TO THE

REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F. S. A.

THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A TESTIMONIAL OF

SINCERE RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

The only object of this publication is to preserve a brief, but curious memorial of an eventful period of our national history. The original manuscript of the following narrative, or a transcript made from it by himself, was in the possession of my grandfather, and from it a small edition was printed by my father at Wakefield at the close of the last century; but copies of this edition are now so rare, that it has appeared to me to merit a reprint. In addition to the account of Joseph Lister and his family given in his own autobiography, and to what is said in the notes, the following notices have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Hunter, to whom I am indebted for other observations on the text, and to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this little volume. I know nobody who is so intimately acquainted with the particular part of the history of the time to which it more especially belongs, and who, therefore, is so capable of appreciating the simple and unvarnished tale of Joseph Lister. It was he who, assisted by some private memoirs in my possession, first pointed out to me the connection between the Listers and my own family.

Joseph Lister is mentioned several times by Oliver Heywood, one of the non-conforming ministers under the Act of 1662 for the Uniformity of Public Worship, &c. in England, who left a large mass of auto-biographical manuscript. He was living at Allerton on the 26th of May, 1682, and on the 4th of June, 1686, when he was visited there by Mr. Heywood. Joseph himself sometimes preached as a 'gifted brother' in the dissenting congregation of Kipping, to which he belonged, in the absence of the pastor, as was the practice in the section of the non-conformists called Independents. They had for a time a minister who preached the Fifth Monarchy, from whom Lister and others withdrew. Kipping is near Thornton, which was a chapel to the church of Bradford, in which were several puritan ministers who prepared the way for the subsequent non-conformity of this rural district. Joseph Lister was buried in Thornton Chapel.

David Lister, the eldest son of Joseph Lister, who was intended by his father for the dissenting ministry, was first at school with David Noble of Morley, a Scotchman, author of a treatise on the book of Daniel, from whom he went to the academy kept by Richard Frankland, an ejected minister, then at Natland near Kendal, where he entered, May 12, 1675. He died there in November, 1677. Under the date of Dec. 1, 1677, Oliver Heywood observes,—"Got out early: visited,

prayed with, and was much afflicted with Joseph Lister's case, who buried his son at Mr. Frankland's on Monday last, a hopeful scholar."

Accepted Lister, the younger son, was born at Allerton, and baptized in March 1671, and was educated under Matthew Smith at Mixenden in the parish of Halifax, who was a non-conformist minister there, and author of various theological treatises. He was ordained by Mr. Frankland, Mr. Heywood, and Mr. Thorpe, (all ministers who had been ejected in 1662), other ministers being present, on the 6th of June, 1694, at the meeting place at Horton near Bradford. His *thesis* was, *An vere fideles de sua salute certi esse possunt?* He took the affirmative. He was then examined in Hebrew, Greek, and other parts of learning, delivered his confession of faith, and answered to various interrogatories respecting his objects in entering the ministry, &c. After this Mr. Thorpe prayed over him, and in the midst of his prayer the ordaining ministers laid their hands upon him. A bible was then presented and they gave him the right hand of fellowship. Then followed an exhortation to the ministers ordained (two others were ordained with him) and to the people. The service appears to have lasted about six or seven hours, after which they dined at Mr. Sharp's. Accepted Lister first settled as a minister at Kipping, but removed thence to Bingley in 1695, from whence he went to Thornton, and finally appears

to have returned to Kipping. He published a sermon preached at the dissenting chapel in Call Lane in Leeds, entitled "Christ's Coming the Believer's Comfort;" it was a funeral sermon for Benjamin son of Joshua Dawson of Leeds. On Sunday, Feb. 21, 1708-9, he preached twice, and administered the Lord's Supper, and on the Thursday following, 25th Feb., he died of apoplexy.

Oliver Heywood has the following entries relating to Accepted Lister. 18 March, 1694-5, "Called of Mr. Accepted Lister: did a weighty business with him about Bingley." 11 Dec. 1701, "Set myself to write a letter to Mr. Lister, in answer to his concerning that great dispute of his removing from Bingley." On this subject see p. 57, of Joseph Lister's Narrative. According to the testimony of his friend and neighbour Mr. Thomas Dickenson, who succeeded Mr. Heywood in his congregation at Northowram in the chapelry of Coley, Accepted Lister was "an excellent preacher; a little helpless body, but a great and sound soul." John Dunton* says, "Mr. Accepted Lister, of Thornton in Bradford-Dale, is a little man, but one that has a great soul, rich in grace and gifts, of a strong memory, good elocution, *accepted* with God and all good men, and one

* Panegyrick on eminent Persons; in the Life and Errors of John Dunton, Nichols's edition, London, 8vo. 1818, p. 421.

that serves God faithfully in the Gospel of his Son; naturally caring for the good of souls, and longing after them in the bowels of the Lord Jesus."

On the 11th of April, 1705, Accepted Lister, being then minister of Kipping, married Mary Whitehead. His widow afterwards (21 July, 1713) married Robert Richmond, minister at Cleckheaton, and (18 Sept. 1728) she married a third husband, John Willis of Wakefield. Her sister, Martha Whitehead, was married to Thomas Cordingley of Halifax, whose daughter, Elizabeth Cordingley, was married to John Wright of Bradford. Their son, Thomas Wright of Birkenshaw near Cleckheaton,* was my grandfather, and this distant family-connection with the Listers may have been the cause of the Memoirs being preserved by him, and has been in some measure an inducement to me to undertake the present edition.

In reprinting the text of Joseph Lister's Narrative, I have endeavoured to increase its interest by a few illustrative notes, chiefly gathered from the communications of two kind friends, the Rev. Joseph Hunter and Sir Cuthbert Sharp of

* Of whom a short biographical sketch will be found in the second (posthumous) edition of his "Familiar Religious Conversation, in verse," 12mo. Leeds, 1812, published originally in 1778 under the title of, "A modern Familiar Religious Conversation, among People of Differing Sentiments."

Sunderland, gentlemen deeply conversant in the history and antiquities of the North of England. I have also reprinted at the end a rare tract preserved among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, relating to two important incidents in Lister's Autobiography. The only other copy of this tract known to me is among a very valuable collection of Yorkshire pamphlets in the possession of Mr. Thorpe of Piccadilly.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

AN

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

I PROPOSE to keep an account of some of the most remarkable passages of Providence towards myself, and some of the chief public occurrences that happened within my observation during the course of my life. I was born at Bradford, in Yorkshire, of godly and religious parents, June 7th, 1627. My father died when I was about six years old, and left five children, of whom I was the youngest but one. I was brought up at school, and my pious mother would gladly have had me a scholar, but I had no mind to learn; however a free-school being in the town,* I was continued there many years, but was averse to learning, and much inclined to play above my fellows. My dear mother† took great care to

* The Free-school at Bradford has sometimes been of considerable repute. John Sharp archbishop of York, and Dr. David Hartley were educated there.

† It appears exceedingly probable, from several things in the narrative that his mother was sister of Edward Hill and Joshua Hill, two clergymen, one of whom, Edward, was M.A. and vicar of Huddersfield, and had the church of Crofton near Wakefield, from which he was ejected by the act of Uniformity, 1662. He died in 1668. Calamy, Account, p. 793, and Cont. 941. Joshua was minister of the chapel of Bramley, in the parish of Leeds, and died Dec. 13, 1632. Thoresby's Ducatus Leodiensis, p. 210. It was probably his widow who visited Lister's mother from Bramley, about 1636, as is mentioned in the narrative. Joseph Hill, B. D. a celebrated tutor in Magdalen College, Cambridge, a non-conformist, was son of Joshua. He removed to Holland in 1678, and died there in 1707. There is an edition of Schrevelius by him. In a subsequent part of the narrative, Joseph Lister speaks of an uncle Edward Hill, who was a minister.

instruct me; and though she was a woman that would pass by many trifling faults, yet could she not wink at sinful ones, but restrained me from them as much as she could, and corrected me when she found me guilty: I then thought she was too severe; but I have seen the contrary since. It was her custom before she corrected, to pray earnestly with me, that God would bless her correction of me for my good, yet I was often weary both of her praying and correction, though she did both for my good, and oh! what a mercy it was, how many parents are greatly defective in this, and can let their children sin without reproof or controul; or if they be offended with their faults, perhaps correct them in anger and passion, and so add their own folly to their children's wickedness. When I was about nine or ten years old, I remember an aunt of mine came from Bramley to pay my mother a visit, and to spend the Lord's day with us; and at noon, after dinner was over, I did (unknown to any of the family) take my aunt's horse out of the stable, with a design to water him; the horse ran away with me, and I fell off, and was so stunned by the fall, that I lay insensible in the way, till word was brought to my poor mother; I was taken up for dead, but being brought home and means used, after a long time they perceived that I began to breathe; and I afterwards recovered, and came to myself, but I knew nothing of anything what passed after my falling off, but by information afterwards. O how near was I to death at this time! and had I died then, surely I had gone down to the pit. My mother who was fond of me, endeavoured to impress this Providence upon my mind, and prayed over me many a time, and got many godly men to pray with me and for me: but alas! I soon forgot both my danger and deliverance, and not having broke any of my limbs, I was sent again to school. As soon as I was thought fit, I was brought to

public ordinances, and was carefully examined as to what I remembered; I was taught how to understand the minister's method,* and by degrees got the gift of memory; and pleased my good mother well with that, for I could have brought home most, if not all the heads and particulars of a sermon: I also got a catechism and several chapters and psalms, by heart; and I learned to write both long and short hand, and characters very well, that I might be of use in the family. I went to many funeral sermons, lectures, and monthly exercises, and constantly repeated what I heard, by which means I gained a good deal of notional knowledge, yet no impression was made to purpose upon my heart all this time.

About this time, that is, about the years 1639, 1640, and 1641, that many good ministers and christians amongst the puritans, (as they were called at that time,) reflected upon the times, with many sad and foreboding thoughts, concluding that Popery was like to be set up and the light of the gospel put out, many ministers were silenced, and great numbers for these three or four years past were posting away to New England, and many of these, both men and women, that I myself knew;† and sad apprehensions remained with those that stayed behind.

O what fasting and praying, publicly and privately, what wrestling with God was there day and night?

* "The minister's method," i. e. his distribution of his subject in heads and particulars.

† It appears from the papers of Mr. Oliver Heywood, who was the minister of Coley Chapel, in the parish of Halifax, but only four or five miles from Bradford, that several families removed themselves at this time to New England, from that neighbourhood, but none of them seem to have been of note either in England, or in the country to which they removed. The apprehensions Lister speaks of were not of the war, so much as of further trouble from the ecclesiastical authorities of the time, who were determined to suppress non-conformity, if possible.

Many of those weeping, praying, and wrestling seasons, both day and night, were kept in my dear mother's house, and the fasts were kept with great strictness and severity; not any of us, old or young, eating so much as a morsel of bread for twenty-four hours together; which was a great weariness to me, and went much against my carnal heart, (fool and wretch that I was) with shame and grief would I think of it.

About this time (in the year 1641) did the Rebellion in Ireland break out, and many thousand protestants of all ages, sexes, and degrees, were put to death, with great inhumanity and cruelty; and great fear came upon the protestants in England, these villains giving it out, that what they had done there was by the king's commission, and that in a little time the English protestants (or heretics as they called them) should drink of the same cup; and it was verily believed by many, it would be so, if God should suffer it; and O what fears and tears, cries and prayers, night and day, was there then in many places, and in my dear mother's house, in particular! I was then about twelve or thirteen years of age, and tho' I was afraid to be killed, yet was I weary of so much fasting and praying, and longed to see those nights and days over. I remember one public fast day (for godly ministers appointed many, and kept them in their respective places;) Mr. Wales kept many at Pudsey,* it was two

* Elkana Wales, minister for many years at Pudsey between Bradford and Leeds, born in 1588.—There is a long and good account of him in Calamy, (Account p. 801—4) to which we refer, with the following remarks communicated by Mr. Hunter. (1) The clause at the foot of p. 803, "He was so zealous, &c. belongs not to him, but to Christopher Marshall, another of the ministers ejected. (2) A few additional particulars of his life may be gleaned from the account of him by Thoresby, among Birch's MSS. at the Museum, No. 4460. (3) He married Elizabeth Clavering, of Caliley in Northumberland, aunt to Sir James Clavering of Axwell, the widow of

miles from Bradford, and thither my pious mother and all the family went constantly upon these days; I have known that holy Mr. Wales spend six or seven hours in praying and preaching, and rarely go out of the pulpit; but sometimes he would intermit for one quarter of an hour, while a few verses of a psalm were sung, and then pray and preach again; and O what confession of sin did he make! what prayers, tears, and wrestling with God was in that place on these days! what tears and groans were to be seen and heard in that chapel! I am sure it was a place of weepers; but that day I say, which I am speaking of, I think about three o'clock in the afternoon, a certain man that I remember well,—(his name was John Sugden)—came and stood up in the chapel door, and cried out with a lamentable voice, "Friends" said he, "we are all as good as dead men, for the Irish Rebels are coming; they are come as far as Rochdale, and Littlebrough, and the Batings,* and will be at Halifax and

Thomas Butler, a merchant of Newcastle, who had many children, one of them a major in the Parliament army, another married to John Oxenbridge, M. A. of Magdalene College, Oxford, and another to Ambrose Barnes, a merchant at Newcastle, who had left a large volume of Biographical and Political matter, now in the library of one of the Societies of Newcastle. Sir Cuthbert Sharp has published (or printed) many extracts from this manuscript, chiefly of the biographical and historical parts. Of Elkana Wales, who was thus stepfather to his wife, Barnes says that he was of a mild disposition, and then when he wrote "of fragrant memory." He mentions particularly what we find in Calamy, that he was not to be drawn from Pudsey by the offers of Lord Fairfax. His wife is described as a person of a very severe and harsh temper, and there is a melancholy account given of the circumstances of religious depression in which she died. (4) One of the Presbyterian congregations in the west riding of Yorkshire was at Pudsey, established by persons who had lived under the ministry of Mr. Wales.

* Rochdale, Littleborough, and the Batings are well-known places on the great highway from South-Lancashire to Halifax, which is continued to Bradford.

Bradford shortly;" he came, he said, out of pity and good will, to give us this notice And having given this alarm, away he ran towards Bradford again, where the same report was spread about. Upon which the congregation was all in confusion, some ran out, others wept, others fell to talking to friends, and the Irish Massacre being but lately acted, and all circumstances put together, the people's hearts failed them with fear; so that the Rev. Mr. Wales desired the congregation to compose themselves as well as they could, while he put himself and them into the hands of Almighty God by prayer, and so he did, and so dismissed us. But O what a sad and sorrowful going home had we that evening, for we must needs go to Bradford, and knew not but Incarnate Devils and Death would be there before us, and meet us there. What sad and strange conjectures, or rather conclusions, will surprize and fear make! Methinks I shall never forget this time.

Well we got home, and found friends and neighbours in our case, and expecting the Cut-throats coming. But at last some few horsemen were prevailed with to go to Halifax, to know how the case stood. They went with a great deal of fear, but found matters better when they came there, it proving only to be some protestants that were escaping out of Ireland for their lives into England; and this news we received with great joy, and spent the residue of that night in praises and thanksgivings to God. And I well remember what sad discourses I heard about this time, the Papists being desperate, bloody men; and those that were put into offices and places of trust were such as would serve the King and his design. At that time all profaneness came swelling in upon us, swearing, and sabbath-breaking, profane sports, and those even authorized by law;* and the people of God not knowing

* Of course the Book of Sports is alluded to.

what the end of these things would be, they being almost at their wit's end, parliaments were broken up, and all things going to wreck both in church and state. Horse and foot were now brought into the town and quartered in it, who rode round about it swearing what they would do, like so many blood-hounds. Mothers and children expecting daily when they should be dashed in pieces one against another; every one now began to shift for themselves, but they had no way of escape left them in the world, that they knew of; some indeed, in time, got into New-England, but they were but few, and that too with a great deal of difficulty; some made their escape into Lancashire, hoping to pass thence, but always being shut up, few could make their escape. The army at length marching away for a time, the poor inhabitants, who seemed devoted to destruction, now being laid open to the enemy, what remained but that they would be given over to the sword of these bloody villains? At this time I was about fourteen years of age, and my mother put me apprentice to a trade, to a godly man at Horton,* near the town of

* It appears afterwards that his master's name was Sharp, and that his master had a brother-in-law named David Clarkson. This shows us, on comparison with the pedigree of Sharp, (Thoresby's Ducatus, p. 36) that the master to whom he was apprenticed was John Sharp of Horton, who in 1632 married Mary Clarkson. These Sharps had a good property at Horton, and were the principal people there. They were non-conformists, and had a meeting at Horton. John Sharp had two sons: one of them was brought up a non-conforming minister, and was pastor of a large congregation at Leeds, in 1693. There is an affecting account of the circumstances attending his death in Thoresby's Diary, together with many other notices of him. The other son was Abraham Sharp, an eminent mathematician and astronomer, an assistant to Flamstead and correspondent of Newton. He died in 1742 at the age of 90. His Monument with Inscription is in Whittaker's Loidis and Elmete, p. 355. Both these Sharps were several years younger than Lister, but were no doubt among his friends, or acquaintance, living as they did in his neighbourhood, and having a community in religious feeling and practice.

Bradford, where I was to be seven years; but the Civil Wars broke out in 1642, and many good men in the town and parish took up arms for the defence of the parliament, which was then in being. My master was a man of a good spirit, had a plentiful estate, and was an active man about the town, and though the King's party came at sundry times to take the town of Bradford, yet they were very happily repulsed; but in the year 1643, came the Earl of Newcastle, with a strong army, to Wakefield, and stayed there. But methinks I should here give an hint by the way, how that Uncivil War that shed so much English blood was brought about.

King Charles the first, then upon the throne, to say nothing of his own wicked disposition, did by the constant solicitation of the bloody Queen, together with the swarms of Jesuits and evil affected Councellors, Bishops, and men of great estate, place, and trust, all put their heads together to destroy Christ's interest in the nation, and betray their trust every way to the utter ruin and overthrow of Religion, and to cut off the lives of all the Protestants, and so have enslaved this land to Rome, the mother of harlots; whose kingdom is established by blood. These things being so plain to be seen, that he must be blind that did not see it; all the King's actions both at home and abroad, shew, and particularly his dissolving of Parliaments time after time, when they did but touch upon these things, as some of the bold seeing men did year after year; so now there seemed to be no hope or help left for England, but that it must shortly be destroyed as Ireland was by a bloody Rebellion. About this time God put it into the hands of the good people of Scotland; foreseeing the ruin that was hasting upon England, and knowing it could not long go well with them if we were once destroyed, but they and what was dear to them must be sacrificed next; upon which they two

several times came into England, to Newcastle, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, with a considerable army, upon design to prevent our ruin; upon which an army was raised in England, to go and fight with them, and upon what terms they returned home again the first time I cannot tell; but, however, they came again shortly, and a great army was raised and went to meet them. The King also went in person, and a great number of the Noblemen, Bishops, and Gentlemen, in great fury, with design to fight with, and suppress them. What they propounded, and required, I know not, but I remember it was said the English army were not very fully resolved to engage; so a parley was proposed, and accepted, and the treaty was concluded, to see if peace could be gained, and the Scots sent home quietly again; and after a long debate it was concluded that upon several conditions the Scottish General should deliver up the towns that they were possessed of, and march his army in peaceable manner into Scotland and there disband them; and one of the conditions on the King's part was, that he should in a few days issue out his writs for a free Parliament, which should consider of, and in an honorable manner conclude all matters of difference and dissatisfaction, especially all in the manner of misdemeanours, or ill government by any evil Councellors and Ministers of State. So both the armies did withdraw, and that being blown over, tho' variously resented as persons stood affected to Religion and the Cause of Christ, in the next place the King, according to the previous condition, did call a Parliament, who had not sat long before they presented an humble address, or petition, that seeing his Majesty had given his subjects some cause of discontent, by his so often dissolving of Parliaments, they begged his Majesty would be pleased to sign an act that they might sit as long as they pleased, without being dissolved, which was granted, and therein

(as God ordered it) they got the staff out of his hand, which he could never get again.

Well, having got this power they presently began to fall upon Ministers of State; and calling evil Councellors in question, still laying all misgovernment at the door of his bad Councellors and Ministers of State, they clapped up some wicked Bishops, Deacons, and Prelates, and tried them for their lives, and executed them; and also some great Statesmen. I remember one above the rest called Lord Wentworth, he had several titles, as Earl of Strafford, &c. he was said to be one of the greatest Politicians in England; it was thought he had but hard measure, being (as was said) condemned by a law then to make, for tho' he was guilty of many crimes, yet no one of them alone would cut him off; therefore they made an act that two such crimes put together should be high treason; but then the main difficulty was to get his execution signed, which the King long refused, but the House being resolved to have him down, they pressed the King till he was pleased to sign it, (which thing he repented to his dying day) so they cut him off, which being done, the House did order that the act by which Lord Wentworth was beheaded, should not be brought into example. This seemed an odd thing to be done by a Parliament; there were many things in evil case, and the House acted so as did not please the King; and there were some few wise, bold, and resolute men that now feared no colours; and they had a great influence upon the rest in the House of Commons; and this his Majesty knew full well, and had an evil eye upon them, and by some means it got out that the King intended to go with a guard to the House and apprehend them. He did go; but when he came there, and had looked all over the House, he saw the birds had got wing and were gone, so he told the House he came in that manner to impeach

and carry away by force the five Members that he named; and so went away, but, however the House justified them, and complained of the King's breach of the privileges of Parliament. So the King required a guard for his person, pretending to be in fear; and the City offered the Parliament a guard also to defend them, there being such swarms of bloody Papists all over the City, and continually walking about the Parliament-House, so that the difference between the King and the House increased every day. The King being grieved and full of fury that things went so contrary to his desires and the desires of his bosom friends and favourites, he now withdrew himself, and went and resided at Hampton-Court, and would but seldom admit of addresses or petitions to return to his Parliament; and at last away he goes, and takes a great swarm of Gentry, Clergy, Jesuits, and wicked Papists, that were ill-affected, and the two Princes, and comes to York, but had not long been there, before the Yorkshire Gentlemen, and others, resolved to go and petition him to return to his Parliament, which they did; but not being well received, and there being such vast numbers of wicked and bloody Papists about him, with arms, riding up and down swearing and cursing like so many devils, the petitioners being naked men, and suspecting the issue, withdrew, and got away, being yet more increased in their fears for the end of these things. Then the King went to Hull, and when he came there, the gates were shut againt him, the Parliament having sent one Sir John Hotham to be Governor for them; the King called, and commanded him to open the gates that he might come in; but Hotham, kneeling upon the wall, told his Majesty he could not do that, and be faithful to the Parliament who had commissioned him to the contrary; so his Majesty departed in a rage at the disappointment of his design; and away he marches to Nottingham, and

there he set up his Standard, and proclaimed war against the Parliament, which occasioned them to take up arms in their own defence, for now no way was left but to decide the difference by the sword; by which very much blood was shed all over the Kingdom, and in this war, it so fell out, that fathers and sons, and many brothers, fought one against another, till many families were quite ruined. In this war Bradford was deeply engaged; the generality of the town and parish, and the towns about, stood up for the Parliament, and it was made a little garrison, and though it was not easy to keep, yet they threw up bulwarks about it; and the inhabitants were firm to the cause, and to one another, to the very taking of the town.

When the enemies approached the town, horsemen were sent to Halifax, Bingley, and the small towns about, who presently took the alarm, and came with all speed, and such arms as they had, and stuck close to the inhabitants, and did very good service. The enemies lay at Leeds, Wakefield, and Pontefract-Castle, and so were near Bradford.* I remember one day they came to a hill

* At the beginning of the troubles, Yorkshire was the scene of an important part of the war. The king, after being shut out of Hull, marched towards the south, to set up his standard at Nottingham, and left the command of the four northern counties to William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, who garrisoned York. The parliament gave the direction of the war in those parts to Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, who with his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, kept up a continual war of out-posts. A party of Newcastle's forces under Sir William Saville, seized upon Leeds, and held some of the smaller places in the neighbourhood, particularly Wakefield. Sir Thomas Fairfax occupied Bradford, as being an important position for communication with Lancashire. Between the two rival posts there were frequent skirmishes. The attack upon Bradford, mentioned above, was made on Sunday, the 18th Dec., 1642. A contemporary account of the fight is printed at the end of the present volume. From other authorities we learn that the royalists were commanded in person by Sir Wm. Saville, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir John Gotherick, and

called Hunderscliffe, and brought two great guns with them, and planted them directly against the steeple, where we had men with several long guns, that did much execution when they came within our shot; but God so

Col. Evers. Their numbers are differently estimated—fourteen or fifteen hundred, according to the periodicals of the time (Special Passages, No. 21), seven or eight hundred, according to Sir Thomas Fairfax's own estimate (Memorials). They came suddenly before Bradford at about 10 o'clock on the Sunday morning, when the inhabitants were at church; and planted two drakes, which they had brought with them, in a barn, from which they fired at the church, where the Bradford men defended themselves till towards mid-day, when some men from Halifax came to their aid; then they sallied out, and drove the enemy away. (Lord Fairfax's letter. Special Passages, No. 21). One of the Bradford men, before the others issued from the church, had shot the "master gunner" with a fowling piece, which had already daunted the enemy. The Bradford men were as yet in such an ill condition of defence, that in the pursuit they were armed with "swords, sithes, long poles with sickles fastened to the ends of them, flayles, spits, and such like weapons." (The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, No. 2). Sir Thomas Fairfax (in his Memorials) gives the following brief account of what appears to be this affair. "The first action we had was at Bradford. We were about three hundred men, the enemy seven or eight hundred, and two pieces of ordinance. They assaulted us: we drew out close to the town to receive them; they had the advantage of the ground, the town being encompassed with hills, which exposed us more to their cannon, from which we received some hurt. But our men defended those passages by which they were to descend so well, they got no ground of us; and now the day being spent, they drew off, and retired to Leeds."

Sir Thomas Fairfax then went and occupied Leeds, deserted by the enemy at his approach; and thence proceded to his father's head quarters at Tadcaster, and was engaged in several severe skirmishes. Newcastle's forces were now considerably increased; he drove Fairfax from Tadcaster, and the latter fell back upon Selby, leaving the road to Leeds open to the enemy. That town was again occupied by Saville, with superior forces; and in the fear of being cut off from their friends in the West, Sir Thomas Fairfax was sent by his father "with about three hundred foot and three troops of horse and some arms to Bradford,"—"a town very untenable, but, for their good affection to us, deserving all we could hazard for them. Our first

ordered it, that a great snow shower fell just then, and one of the great guns burst, which so disheartened them, that they went away of their own accord. Another day they came down into Barker-end, a place within a very

work there was to fortifie ourselves, for we could not but expect an assault. There lay at Leeds fifteen hundred of the enemy, and twelve hundred at Wakefield, neither place above six or seven miles distant from us. They visited us every day with their horse, ours not going far from the town, being very unequal in number: yet the enemy seldom returned without loss, till at last our few men grew so bold, and theirs so disheartened, that they durst not stir a mile from their garrisons." Fairfax now called in the country, and raised about eight hundred foot, with which he went from Bradford to Leeds, garrisoned by Sir William Saville, and took that town by storm (Monday, Jan, 23). An account of the taking of Leeds is given in the rare tract re-printed at the end of this volume. Newcastle was so much alarmed by the defeat of Sir Wm. Saville, that he drew in all his forces to York, and again left the intervening ground open to the Parliamentarians. The Earl, however, soon began to resume offensive operations; the Parliamentarians were defeated at Clifford Moor; and at the end of April (1643), and beginning of May, Newcastle advanced towards Leeds, which he threatened to attack, and Lord Fairfax wrote to the Parliament for men and money to defend it. At the same time some parties of royalists had taken Rotherham and Sheffield. According to the Mercurius Aulicus, p. 212, (the Royalist Newspaper,) Newcastle drew off his forces on an understanding that negotiations were entered upon for the delivery of Leeds, and Lord Fairfax had taken advantage of this to strengthen his army there. Sir Thomas Fairfax had again been sent to occupy Bradford, with seven or eight hundred foot and three troops of horse. The enemy had seized upon Wakefield, and posted there three thousand men. On the 21st May (Whitsunday), Sir Thomas, having marched with his forces from Bradford, gallantly attacked Wakefield and entirely defeated the royalists, the horse and part of the foot escaping to Pontefract. Goring was taken prisoner on this occasion (Mercur. Aul. p. 283. Fairfax's Memoirs). After this success, the Fairfaxes were very active, and obtained reinforcements from Lancashire (Continuation of Special, &c. Passages, No. 52). This was followed by a defeat of part of Newcastle's army at "Barnham Moor." But Newcastle had now assembled all his forces, preparatory to proceeding towards Nottinghamshire, and in June marched towards Bradford, and brought on the catastrophe which Lister now goes on to relate.

little way of the church, and they placed their guns directly against the steeple; and they were also in a line with a street called Kirk-gate, and would probably therefore have done a great deal of mischief in the town. In the next place a stout, gallant officer, commanding a company of foot, came running down a field, shaded with a hedge, intending to come running into the church, and so cut off the men both in the church and steeple; but the men in the steeple having a full view of their design, ordered a few men to meet them, and give them a charge: and the commander coming first, two of the townsmen met him, and struck him down: he cried out for quarter, and they poor men not knowing the meaning of it, said—"aye, they would quarter him," and so killed him. I think they said he was the Earl of Newport, or his son, as I remember; and they sent a trumpeter to request his corpse, which was the next day delivered to them.*

* Lister seems to have been deceived by the vulgar reports, in the name of the person who was thus slain. The Earl of Newport at this time was Montjoy Blount, a son of Charles Earl of Devonshire. He was in the military service of Charles I, being Master of the Ordnance, and of the council of war, and is said (Peerage of England, 8vo. 1711, vol. ii, p. 229) to have died at Oxford in 1665. He had three sons who succeeded him in his honours, one after the other. He might have another son slain at Bradford. The Newports of Shropshire who were made Earls of Bradford, in that county, seem not to be connected with Lister's conjecture concerning the person then slain. Whitaker is mistaken in saying that there was no Earl of Newport at the time. (Loidis and Elmete, p. 360.)

Lord Fairfax, in a letter giving an account of this attack upon Bradford, which was printed at the time, and of which a copy is preserved among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, mentions "Col. Evers and Capt. Bynnes and another commander reported to be killed," on the side of the royalists. In the 'Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer,' No. 2, we are told that "Colonell Evers, and one Colonell Moore were there slain," In the account printed at the end of the present volume, there are enumerated as

He being now fallen that was their champion, his men that had followed him thither were more easily driven back to the body of their army, which stayed within a little of where their guns were planted. So presently a panic fear fell upon Sir William Saville,* their commander, and they did not fire a gun more that I remember; but immediately ran away to Leeds, their den; and the townsmen fell in the rear of them, and some little skirmish was made, and some little work was done, but not much.

Having made this little disgression, shewing the breaking out of the war, I shall now say something of its carrying on about Bradford.

I said before that the Earl of Newcastle was come to Wakefield with a strong army, intending to overturn the country, which my Lord Fairfax, then commander for the Parliament, understanding, he gathered all the forces under his command, and sent into Lancashire for some assistance from thence, and some troops came, and I think some few foot. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the horse. So it was that the Earl of Newcastle had

"slaine of theirs Sir John Harper, as one Savile taken at Hallifax confesseth, . . . Capt Wray, and Capt. Bins." Vicars, who has made up his account almost entirely from the Pamphlet last mentioned, gives Sir John Harp (instead of Harper), in his Parliamentary Chronicle. It is not improbable that this last mentioned person is the one whom Lister took for "the Earl of Newport or his son."

* Sir William Saville, of Thornhill, near Wakefield, Baronet, which, his chief house, he fortified, and made a garrison for the king. He had a chief command in Yorkshire, under the Marquis of Newcastle, but died early in the war, 24th January, 1643-4. Some of his original correspondence relating to the war is printed in Mr. Hunter's History of Hallamshire. His lady, a daughter of Lord Keeper Coventry, was also a remarkable person of those times, as may be seen in the Life of Dr Barwick. Their son, Sir George Saville was made Marquis of Halifax.

marched his army as far as Howley-Hall,* (another den of dragons) and Adwalton. So my Lord Fairfax got his men ready very early in the morning, and marched away to Adwalton; and charged them so warmly that they beat them off their great guns, and turned them against them, and the enemy began to run. But there was one Major Jeffiries, keeper of the ammunition, who, proving treacherous, and withholding it from the parliament's men, who called for it, and could get none, were forced to slacken their firing; which the enemy perceiving, and probably had private notice from the traitor, they presently faced about, and fell upon Fairfax's men, with that fury, that they presently regained their guns, and put them to the route, and fell on hacking and hewing down the foot, many being slain, and as many as could escaped to Bradford, whither my Lord Fairfax got also. But O, what a sad discouraging day was that! all the Lancashire men, horse and foot, ran away home, and could by no means be persuaded to stay in Bradford, though my Lord resolved to stay there, and as many as had any courage left stayed there also.†

* Howley-hall, the fine seat of Lord Saville of Howley.—See a view of the ruins, and some particulars respecting it, in Loidis and Elmete, p. 238.

† The disastrous battle of Adwalton or Atherton Moor, is not much spoken of in the contemporary news pamphlets. But we have two accounts of it which come directly from the persons engaged in it on the two different sides, one by Sir Thomas Fairfax (in his Memoirs), the other by the Duchess of Newcastle, in her life of her husband, from whose mouth no doubt it was taken. Fairfax tells us that as soon as they heard that the Earl was marching to attack Bradford, "which was a very untenable place," he and his father determined to go and meet him. They were to have marched at four o'clock in the morning, but the unnecessary delays of Major General Gifford, whose office it was to get every thing ready, kept them till seven or eight, "not without much suspicion of treachery;" so that the enemy was prepared, and his whole army "drawn up in battalia," on

At last a little army was formed, and got to the works and centries, but Sir Thomas Fairfax was forced another way, and so got to Halifax, with those few horse he had left, and he came to Bradford the next day; whose

"Adderton Moor." Lord Fairfax had few horse, and they had to march up hill to the attack; but they first beat in the royalist foot, and then drove horse and foot together up to their cannons. At this critical moment, the rashness of some of the parliamentarians gave the enemy a momentary advantage, which was increased by the ill conduct of Major General Gifford, "who did not his part as he ought to do," (no doubt, the 'Major Jeffries' of Lister), and the royalists rallied and entirely defeated the Parliamentarian army. The horse, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, escaped to Halifax. Lord Fairfax, with part of the foot, reached Bradford, which was immediately besieged by the Earl of Newcastle. Lord Fairfax left Bradford, and went to Leeds, before the town was blocked up; and Sir Thomas Fairfax came with what men he could raise to Bradford, where at the time of the siege he had eight hundred foot and sixty horse. The remainder of the narrative will be best given in his own words,—"The Earl of Newcastle spent three or four days in laying his quarters about the town of Bradford, and brought down his cannon, but needed not to raise batteries, for the hills within half musket-shot commanded all the town. Being planted in two places, they shot furiously upon us, and made their approaches, which made us spend very much of our little store, being not above twenty-five or twenty-six barrels of powder, at the beginning of the siege. Yet the Earl of Newcastle sent a trumpet to offer us conditions, which I accepted, so they were honourable for us to take, and safe for the inhabitants. We sent two captains to treat with him, and agreed to a cessation during that time; but he continued working still; whereupon I sent forth the commissioners again, suspecting a design of attempting something upon us. They returned not till eleven a clock at night, and then with a slight answer. Whilst they were delivering it to us, we heard great shooting of cannon and muskets; all run presently to the works, which the enemy was storming. Here for three quarters of an hour was very hot service, but at length they retreated. They made a second attempt, but were also beaten off; after this, we had not above one barrel of powder left, and no match. I called the officers together, where it was advised and resolved to draw off presently, before it was day, and to retreat to Leeds, by forcing a way, which we must do, for they had surrounded the town. Orders were dispatched, and speedily put in execution. The

coming did greatly hearten the soldiers in the town; but alas! their joy was but short, the enemies were encamped at Bowling-Hall, so near the town on that side of it, that they planted some of their guns against the town, and

foot commanded by Colonel Rogers was sent out, through some narrow lanes, and they were to beat up the dragoons' quarters, and so go on to Leeds. I, myself, with some other officers, went with the horse, which were not above fifty, in a more open way. I must not here forget my wife, who ran the same hazard with us in the retreat, and with as little expression of fear; not from any zeal, or delight in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition. I sent two or three horsemen before, to discover what they could of the enemy; who presently returned, and told us there was a guard of horse close by us. Before I had gone forty paces, the day beginning to break, I saw them up the hill above us, being about 300 horse. I, with some twelve more, charged them, Sir Hen. Fowles, Major General Gifford, myself, and three more, brake through; Cap. Mudd was slain, and the rest of our horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them, and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, and among whom was my wife, the officer Will. Hill, behind whom she rid, being taken.

"I saw this disaster, but could give no relief; for after I was got through, I was in the enemies rear alone, those who had charged through with me, went on to Leeds, thinking I had done so too; but I was unwilling to leave my company, and stayed till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be taken prisoner with them. I then retired to Leeds. The like disaster fell among the foot, that went the other way, by a mistake, for after they had marched a little way, the van fell into the dragoons' quarters, clearing their way; but through a cowardly fear, he that commanded these men, being in the rear, made them face about, and march again into the town, when the next day they were all taken prisoners, only eighty, or thereabout of the front that got through, came all to Leeds, mounted on horses which they had taken from the enemy, where I found them when I came thither, which was some joy to them all, concluding I was either slain, or taken prisoner." (Lord Fairfax's Memoirs, pp. 46—50.)

Lady Fairfax was immediately sent by the Earl of Newcastle to her husband's quarters at Hull.

The Duchess's account of her husband's victory is evidently rather partial. She says that in June 1643, Newcastle, after having recruited his army marched towards Bradford, taking Howley-house on his

some against the steeple, and gave it many a sad shake. The townsmen had hung wool-packs at the side of the steeple, and they cut the cords with their spiteful shot, and shouted full loudly when the pack fell down.

But on the Lord's-Day morning they beat a drum for a parley, and all that day (during the parley) they spent in removing their guns, just against the heart of the town, and into the mouth of it, into that end of the town called Good-Man-End, and also brought their army, both horse and foot, round about the town, no way being left of making their escape, and but few men in the town, and most of the arms and ammunition, being either lost, or left at Adwalton, and no match but what was made of untwisted cords dipped in oil. And about the going down

way. They had brought "a vast number of musquetiers" out of Lancashire into Bradford. They went out to "a place full of hedges, called Atherton Moor, near to their garrison at Bradford;" Newcastle had, according to his wife's statement, a much smaller number of musquetiers, but was, she confesses, superior in horse. The Parliamentarians had good ground, and Newcastle's horse could not act for a long time. "The foot of both sides on the right and left wings, encountered each other, who fought from hedge to hedge, and for a long time together overpowered and got ground of my Lord's foot, almost to the environing of his cannon." At last the horse attack them furiously, and some cannons being brought to bear on them with effect, they were routed; "those that escaped fled into their garrison at Bradford, amongst whom was also their general of the horse." (Sir Thomas Fairfax.) "After this, my Lord caused his army to be rallied, and marched in order that night before Bradford, with an intention to storm it the next morning. But the enemy that were in the town, it seems, were so discomfited, that the same night they escaped all various ways, and amongst them the said general of the horse."

It is quite clear, from Fairfax's account, compared with the narrative of Joseph Lister, that the Duchess of Newcastle was altogether wrong in stating that Bradford was taken the night after the battle of Atherton Moor. According to the Micro-Chronicon, the battle of 'Adwalton' was fought on the 30th of June, and Bradford was taken [in the night of] 2nd July.

of the sun, the parley broke up, and off goes their guns, before the inhabitants were aware; and at the first shot they killed three men sitting on a bench, and all that night it was almost as light as day, with so many guns firing continually. So in the dead of the night the captains were called, and a council sat to resolve what was best to be done; it was presently resolved that the soldiers should be told they must all shift for themselves, only the officers were resolved to make a desperate adventure of breaking through the enemies' army, at the upper end of the town, and all that were willing might forthwith repair thither. But because my Lord had no garrison nearer than Hull, and no use could be made of their arms for want of match, and powder, he would not command the soldiers to go along with him, but leave them to their own choice, what to do, for he saw they could no longer keep the town, and so they did, and broke through, and made their way by dint of sword, and so got away towards Hull. And among the rest my godly master, Mr. Sharp, was one that broke through, and yet, he having no mind to go so far as Hull, he then left the army, and took toward Lancashire, and got that day to a town called Coln, where he stayed some time.

But oh! what a night and morning was that in which Bradford was taken! what weeping, and wringing of hands! none expecting to live any longer than till the enemies came into the town, the Earl of Newcastle having charged his men to kill all, man, woman, and child, in the town, and to give them all Bradford quarter, for the brave Earl of Newport's sake. However, God so ordered it, that before the town was taken, the Earl gave a different order, (viz.) that quarter should be given to all the townsmen.

It was generally reported that something came on the Lord's Day night, and pulled the clothes off his bed

several times, and cried out with a lamentable voice, "pity poor Bradford!" that then he sent out his orders that neither man, woman, nor child, should be killed in the town; and that then the apparition which had so disturbed him, left him, and went away; but this I assert not as a certain truth; but this is true, that they slew very few in the town. Some desperate fellows wounded several persons, that died of their wounds afterwards; but I think not more than half a score were slain; and that was a wonder, considering what hatred and rage they came with against us. But we were all beholden to God, who tied their hands, and saved our lives.

My master being gone, I sought for my mother, and having found her, she, and I, and my sister, walked in the street, not knowing what to do, or which way to take. And as we walked up the street, we met a young gentleman (called David Clarkson) leading a horse.* My mother asked him where he had been with that horse. Says he, "I made an essay to go with my brother Sharp, and the army, who broke through the enemies leaguer; but the charge was so hot I came back again, and now I know not what to do." Then I answered, and said, "pray mother, give me leave to go with David, for I think I can lead him a safe way;" for being born in that town, I knew all the bye-ways about it.

David also desired her to let me go with him, so she begged a blessing on me, and sent me away, not knowing

* "David Clarkson." This "young gentleman" was fellow and tutor of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and is remarkable as well for his own worth and learned writings, as for having been tutor to Tillotson. See Birch's Life of Tillotson, 8vo. 1753, p. 4. He was son of Robert Clarkson of Bradford, and brother of Mary Clarkson, who married John Sharp of Horton. See Thoresby's Duc. Leod. p. 36. He was turned out of the living of Mortlock by the non-conformity act. See Calamy, Account p. 667. Many of his practical and controversial writings are in print.

where we could be safe. So away we went, and I led him to a place called the Sill-bridge, where a foot company was standing; yet I think they did not see us, so we ran on the right hand of them, and then waded over the water, and hearing a party of horse come down the lane, towards the town, we laid us down in the side of the corn, and they perceived us not. It being about day-break, we staid here as long as we durst for being discovered, it beginning to be light. Well, we got up, and went in the shade of the hedge, and then looking about us, and hoping to be past the danger of the leaguer, we took to the high way, intending to go to a little town called Clayton; and having waded over the water, we met with two men that were troopers, and who had left their horses in the town, and hoped to get away on foot, and now they and we walked together, and hoped we had escaped all danger, and all on a sudden a man on horseback from towards the beacon had espied us and came riding towards us, and we, like poor affrighted sheep, seeing him come fast towards us, with a drawn sword in his hand, we foolishly kept together, and thought to save ourselves by running. Had we scattered from one another, he had but got one of us. We all got into a field; he crossed the field and came to us, and as it pleased God, being running by the hedge side, I espied a thick holly tree, and thought perhaps I might hide myself in this tree, and escape, so I crept into it, and pulled the boughs about me, and presently I heard them cry out for quarter. He wounded one of them, and took them all prisoners, and said, "there were four of you, where is the other?" but they knew not, for I being the last and least of them, was not missed; so he never looked after me more; but I have often thought since how easily we might have knocked him down, had we but had courage; but alas! we had none.

Having passed this day, skulking in the hedges, when it was dark I betook myself to travelling towards Coln, the place to which I thought my good master was gone, and there I found him, and glad we were to see each other. He enquired of me (because I stayed in Bradford longer than he did) what was done, and what I knew I told him; and in the conclusion he asked me if I knew the way, and durst go back again to Bradford and see if I could find my dame, and bring him word where she was, and how she did, and what was done in the town; "yes Master," said I, "if you please to send me, I am ready and willing to go." So in the morning he sent me away, and to Bradford I came, and found some few people left, but most of them scattered and fled away. I lodged in a cellar that night, but oh! what a change was made in the town in three days time! nothing was left to eat or drink, or lodge upon, the streets being full of chaff, and feathers, and meal, the enemies having emptied all the town of what was worth carrying away, and were now sat down and encamped near Bowling-Hall, and there kept a fair and sold the things that would sell.

In the morning I crept out of the poor cellar where I lay, and walked in the street to enquire after my dame; at last I heard that she and my mother were both well, and gone the day before to Halifax.

The women were gathering meal in the streets; for when the soldiers found any thing that was better than meal, they emptied the sacks, and put that which was better into them, so that there was good store of meal thrown out, both in the houses and streets. But here I stayed not, but went after my dame to Halifax, and there I found her, and delivered my message from my master, and gave her some gold that he sent her, and what information I could: so she sent me back to my master, and desiring him to direct her what to do, and

desired me to come back again to her. So away I went, and gave my master an account of all I could. "Well," said he, "dare thou go back again to thy dame?" "Yes, Sir," said I, "if you please to send me." "Go, then," said he, "and tell thy dame to go back home; and go thou with her, and go to the camp, and buy a cow, to give you some milk, and get the grass mowed, and help to get the hay; and perhaps the enemy will be called away shortly, and you may be quiet." He also gave me money to buy other necessaries. Upon this I returned to my dame, and away we went to Horton, to my master's own house, and I went and bought a cow in the forenoon, and brought her home; but before night other soldiers came, and took her away from us, and carried her back to the camp.

Another day she sent me to buy another cow, and so they did likewise by that. Then she sent me to my master again, to let him know what we had done, and to ask his counsel further. He was then much troubled, and desired me to go back, and tell my dame that he was wholly at a loss to know what to advise her to do, but must leave her to find out her own way, and act accordingly: and for himself, he was now determined to remove to Manchester; and if he could find out Sir Thomas Fairfax, he would fall in with him, and go with the army, for he could not stay in that place as he was; and "as for thee, Joseph," says he, "I would have thee to go and stay with thy dame, till I come home, and then I promise to teach thee thy trade; but if thou hadst rather be set free, I leave thee to thy liberty, and to make thy own choice, and I will be satisfied, for I know not what will become of me." "Well, then, Sir," said I, "I chuse to be at liberty, and shall seek for another master." "It shall be so," said he, "only go home, and tell thy dame what I say, and what thou and

I have concluded upon." "Yes Sir," said I, "that I purpose to do." So I took my leave of him, and turned to my dame, who did sadly resent the tidings that I brought her; and in a short time afterwards I took my leave of her, and enquired for another master, and got one at Sowerby, in Halifax vicarage, where I lived very comfortably all the time of my apprenticeship, in which time I had many convictions, yet I made a wicked shift to stifle them all. But I remember one exercise-day at Halifax, I was hearing one Mr. Briscoe preach from that scripture in the 1st Peter, ii. 12. last clause: "that they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation." He laid down this doctrine that all persons that live under the gospel have a day of gracious visitation; and he said this is but a day, and may be lost, and if once lost, all the angels in heaven and saints upon earth could not help that soul, and to prove this truth, he brought that scripture in the 15th Jeremy, 1st: "Then said the Lord unto me, though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people." This fell upon me like a thunder-bolt.

I went home with a troubled heart: And whose case can this be, but mine, thought I; and if God's mind cannot be towards me I am undone for ever; and in this state I remained many a long day.

The time of my apprenticeship was now just out, and I went and tabled with one Isaac Platts, about two years, and traded for myself, and my soul-trouble began to wear off, as I was taken up with other things.

It so fell out, that my master's daughter, and I, had formed a connexion, with my master's approbation, and having entertained an affection for her, it took up too much of my time. This circumstance, together with my mother's disapprobation of the match, and especially my

fears that she would prove too much like her mother, who was a woman of the most frozen ill-contrived temper that, I think, I ever knew; always fretting and quarrelling with my master, who was, surely, a man of the most sweet and obliging behaviour that could be imagined; so that I thought how shall I ever bear such heart-breaking work, as I saw frequently in our family,—this lay with such pressing weight upon my spirit, especially when the time drew near that we should put it to an issue, that I durst not proceed, but broke off the match as quietly as I could, to the great dissatisfaction both of the girl, my master, and dame, though I never durst tell my dame that the cause of it lay so much at the door of her unworthy carriage to her husband.

In a little time I fell sick, and so came home to my mother, at Bradford, and then were my soul-trouble and fears revived, and were more sharp and piercing than before; and my apprehensions of the approach of death, made the same cut more deep. In this agony I lay some weeks oppressed under the burden of gilt, and a death-threatening distemper. Yet at last God was pleased to step in with light, and love, and clear satisfaction; and I could not hold, but cried out aloud, "He is come! He is come!" which made the affliction on my body the more light and easy, the remainder of the time that I was under it, and in this sweet sense of comfort I walked many days; yet had I many clouds, fears, and doubts afterwards.

Being recovered of this distemper, I returned to my old landlords, and paid off some debts I had contracted, and disposed of what goods I had of my own; and not having much left, I came to Bradford, and told my dear mother what case I was in with respect to my worldly affairs, and that I had traded what I had away. "And what thinkest thou to do now, then?" said she. "Why," said I, "mother, with your good leave, I will go to

London; perhaps I may there get a place to serve some gentleman." But this she was not at first willing for me to do. However she called in some good men, and desired they would first seek the Lord for my direction and guidance in this affair; which they willingly did; and in the close of the day, having laid all circumstances together, they gave their opinion, though it was a place where I might be exposed to temptation, and be in great danger of being led into sin, yet on the other hand, there were many godly persons there, and choice religious ordinances; and that God might have a design of mercy towards me. So they moved for my going, which pleased me very well. We next considered which would be the best manner of travelling thither; and it was resolved I should go with a carrier: So I went to Sowerby, to a London carrier, a good-conditioned man, to know when he went, and how to meet with him. It happened that a young man, of my acquaintance, was designed to go with him that journey, and glad we were both of going together.

The day being come, my dear mother sent me away, though she was loath to part with me, and told me I might live well enough upon my land at Bradford, being about ten pounds a year.

However, I left her, and my two sisters, to meet the carrier, and my fellow-traveller, at the end of the first day's journey; and having so done, we travelled together to the city.

Jonathan Walsh (for so was this young man called) went, as I did, with an intent to serve some gentleman. Being come thither, and while we were in the inn with the carrier, God so ordered it, that the carrier was in a room drinking with some persons for whom he carried goods, and there happened to be two gentlemen enquiring about a servant to wait upon one of them. Says the carrier, "there came two young men up with me that

want places; and I durst be bound for one of them." So they desired him to call for that which he commended. He came to the stairs-head, and called for me. I went, not knowing the meaning of it, and being come into the room, one of the gentlemen asked me if I wanted a place of service? "Yes Sir," said I, "if I can light upon a good place." Says he "what employment are you for?" "Sir," said I, "I may chuse my master, but will submit to any employment that a good man will please to set me to." "You say well," say he, "will you come and take a trial what sort of a master I am, and what kind of a house I keep, and what your business will be?" "Sir," said I, "I am a stranger here, and desire to gratify my curiosity a few days, and then, if God permit, I will come." Then the other man spoke, and said, "this gentleman that hath been speaking to you is my father-in-law, and we live near together, and I want a man as well as he, you therefore need not be discouraged; but come, as you say, to my father's, and it is likely one of us may give you content." "Well, Sir," said I, "I am a little surprized at this unlooked-for providence, at my entrance into the city, and among strangers, and I purpose to come on Monday, for to-morrow is a public fast-day, which I intend to keep, and observe as well as I can, and the three next days I shall look about me in the city."

I thought the son took more notice of what I said than the father did, and I liked him the better of the two; yet I thought to make trial of the father first.

Having proceeded thus far, I took my leave of them for the present, and went to look for my fellow traveller, but he was gone into the city, so I did not see him any more.

The next day being a fast-day, I went to Aldermanbury, where Mr. Calamy was pastor, and two preached, and three prayed; and Mr. Simeon Ash concluded with

prayer.* Well, thought I, God hath brought me into Goshen, a rich and fat pasture! The rest of the week I spent in going to White-Hall, the Exchange, and the Tower, as I wished to see everything that was worth seeing; and on the Lord's-Day, I went to hear at Mr. Calamy's place again, where he and Mr. Ash preached, for Mr. Ash was an assistant to Mr. Calamy; and in the afternoon he went to Hackney, and preached with Dr. Spurstow. So on the Monday I went to Hackney to my old gentleman, and when I came there it proved to be a school for young gentlewomen to learn to play and dance and sing, which did not at all suit with me, however I shuffled over three or four days as well as I could, and then told the old gentleman that I thought I must leave him, which he took ill, and told me my business would be easy; all I had to do was only to go into the city, and to carry or bring any message from the parents of the young gentlewomen, that were scholars there; on the Lord's-Day to carry bibles to church, and bring them home at night; and for my wages he would give me five pounds a year, and the vails of the house would be as much more. But that contented me not, though the wages were more than I expected, yet I could not sit down with the employment of the house, and there being no family duty morning nor evening. So when he could not persuade me to stay, he desired me to go to his son's; I had got a little acquainted with him during my few day's stay; so I took my leave of the old man, and went to the young man's house.

* Edmund Calamy and Simon Ash were very eminent preachers during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Calamy was incumbent of Aldermanbury; and Ash was one of the Cornhill lecturers. They were ejected from their benefices at the Restoration. For an account of them see Dr. Calamy's Account of the Ejected or Silenced Ministers.

I found the master a very good man, but the mistress was as bad; she opposed praying what she could, and would always be in bed both morning and evening at prayer, which was a great affliction to my good master; there were also maids in the house who were such swearers and cursers, and enemies to every thing that was good, that they frighted me; alas! thought I, surely I have got into the suburbs of hell; and it will be my wisdom to haste away from hence, and if I cannot find some family better than these, it will be best for me to think of returning to Bradford again. So I told my master one morning that I thought I must leave him. "O no!" says he, "by no means, you shall not leave me, what is the matter?" "Sir," said I, "I cannot like, and I pray you, give me leave to go away." He then pressed me to tell him the reason, and if any thing in his family was not to my satisfaction, it should be amended. "Sir," said I, "it is not meet for me to reproach your family, but I shall venture to say so far, that though I was born in Yorkshire, in the cold north quarter of England, yet the worship of God was set up there, and religion and holiness were held in esteem, and profaneness and wickedness discountenanced; and I looked for better things in this warm southern climate than yet I find, and if all families be like those I have already met with, I purpose to return to the place from whence I came, for I think there is more of the power of godliness to be met with there. But, sir, I hope you will pardon my plain dealing, I do not mean to reflect upon you; I must needs say, I love your person, and your conversation; but your family does not consist of such persons as I was bred up amongst, and therefore I beg leave of you to go away." He persuaded me to stay a few days longer, and so I did, and then we parted. He wished me good speed, gave me seven shillings, and I returned to the inn, where we first alighted, but the man

who came with me was gone to Yorkshire again, not finding any encouragement, and I knew not then but I must follow him the next time the carrier came up to town.

But one day I thought I would take another walk to see Westminster and White-Hall, so I walked over the park to St. James's, and there found a Major and a Captain exercising their men; the Captain drew off his men and they marched away. I then drew near to the Major, and watched them exercise; I perceived the Major took some notice of me, and by and by he comes walking up to me, and asked me if I had any mind to be a soldier? "No sir," said I, "I have no military spirit." "Well," said he, "what brings you to the city; for I see you are a countryman?" "Sir," said I, "my desire is to serve some gentleman, if I could meet with a good man, and a good family." "Well," said he, "come along with me to my quarters." So he ordered another officer to dispose of the soldiers, and went with me. He then asked me several questions, and at last told me that there had been a gentleman with him lately that was enquiring if any of his soldiers had a mind to leave the army and betake themselves to a private place: "But," said he, "I knew of none then, but perhaps I may see him again shortly, and if he be not provided, tell me where you lodge, and I will inform you." So I thanked him, and went away, scarcely believing that I should hear any more of him; but the providence of God had a hand in it which I was not aware of, for the next morning but one, by that time I had well come down from my bed chamber, comes a soldier and enquires for me, and being come to him, he told me his Major had sent him for me, to come to his quarters at White-Hall, but he told me nothing of the business. So I went with him, and came to the Major, and he asked me if I had got a place? "No sir," said I,

"I have not." "Well," said he, "the gentleman of whom I spake to you the other day, was with me yesterday, and if you please to go and speak with him, my sergeant shall go along with you to the custom-house, and there you will find him." "Sir," said I, "you shew great kindness to a stranger, I heartily thank you." So the sergeant brought me to the gentleman, (his name was Mr. Rye,) and told him his major had sent him with me who was the man they had talked about last night. Mr Rye took us to a tavern, called for sack, and having well drunk, he sent the sergeant away, and bade me come to the custom-house about four o'clock, and wait on him, and I should know more of his mind; so I did, and after I had stopped some time, he came from his business, and away he led me quite out of the city to Islington Fields; and then he began to talk with me and told me it was not himself, but his mother-in-law, that wanted a man.

"But be not dismayed," said he, "for she is a good woman, and you will have a good place, if you stop with her. At present her summer-house is in Highgate, whither we are going."

Then he asked me some questions, as, what I knew of a work of grace upon my heart? what I thought of many scriptures, and what my judgment was as to different things in religion? was I a baptist, or a presbyterian, or a congregational, or what was I? to which I answered according to my knowledge and apprehension.

At last we came to the house. He led me into the kitchen, and he went himself into the hall, where his mother and his wife were; and after salutation, I heard him say, "Mother, I have brought you a new man." "That is well," said she, "if he be a good one." "I hope well of him," says he, "however you may make a trial of him." So by and by I was called into the hall, and the old gentlewoman asked me what countryman I was.

"A Yorkshire man," said I, "a widow woman's son there." "What occasioned your coming to London, and leaving your mother, being a widow?" "Truly," said I, "having served my apprenticeship I thought to become a tradesman, and hoped to live upon it, but I went back, and saw I could not buy and sell and get gain, as other men did, and I was afraid of running into debt, and so in good time gave over, and came to London with a design to put myself in the situation of a servant, if it would please the Lord to dispose of me into some good family." "Well" said she, "you and I are strangers, are you willing to stay here a month, and we shall have a trial of each other, and if I like you not, then I will pay you well for that month, and so we shall part?" "Yes," said I, "your proposal pleaseth me well." So I went into the kitchen again, till supper time, and made observation of the man that she had, and how he did, and I thought I could do as he did well enough.

On the morrow I told Mr Rye, that had I known my mistress had a man, I should not have been willing to come. Says he, "you need not be troubled at that, for my mother has given him warning to provide himself another place; he is so in love with strong drink and bad company, that his stay has been burdensome to my mother long, but that she could not meet with another man to her mind." So I was satisfied, neither did the man appear to be angry with me at all; thus did God in his kind providence provide for me by strangers. In two days time the man went away, and in the mean time my mistress had told me what my employment should be, (viz.) to wait upon her at table, bring the table-cloth and spread it, lay on the trenchers, salt, and bread; then set her a chair, and bring the first dish to the table, then desire her to sit down, and so wait till she called for beer or any other thing; then to fetch another dish and clean the

trenchers, and so wait upon her till she had done, then to take off and draw the table, and carry away her seat, and then the two maids and myself to feed on what she left; and to wait on her to hear sermons almost every day. I always wrote the sermon, and repeated it, and as I did at noon so I did at night at supper, and then all my work was done, and this was my business day after day. Thus God provided for me time enough and rich and fat ordinances, for she would hear the best preachers; O! what cause have I to wonder at the merciful providence of God in a strange place! Well, a month being run about, Mr. Rye being at home, for he stayed mostly with Oliver Cromwell and godly officers of the army, and did but come home on Saturday night, my mistress called me into the hall, and said, "Come, Joseph, now the time that we appointed for trial is over, how do you like?" "Alas! mistress," said I, "it is a small matter how I like, the thing upon which depends, my going, or staying, is how you are satisfied with me." "Well," says she, "in a few words I must tell you, I like you well, and shall not be willing to part with you, if reasonable wages will please you." "I am glad of that," said I, "for I like so well of your person and my employment, that you shall see I will not be willing to leave your service: and as for wages, prove me a year if I so long live, and at the end thereof give me what you please." "You say well and like a servant that intends to be faithful, and you shall fare no worse for leaving it to me, only" says she, "I expect that you should be finer in your apparel, for you see, you and I must go amongst many great persons." "Well," said I, "my inclination is to be fine enough, if I had wherewith to maintain it." "O!" says she, "I will maintain you not like your mother's son, but as my servant;" upon which she bid me call the maid, who being come, she ordered her to bring the apparel to her that she had fetched; so she gave me

a hat, bands, doublet, coat, breeches, stockings, and shoes, a cloak, and half a dozen pairs of cuffs, saying, "whatever I give you at the year's end, you shall have these things freely given you." So I gave her hearty thanks, and went about my business, and thus the providence of God ordered things for my good. Here I had an easy life, brave ordinances, a great deal of time, and ten pounds wages, and many great gifts both from my mistress and Mr. Rye. God was pleased many a time to meet with my heart in ordinances, both by way of conviction and consolation; but above all the rest, under Mr. Collings, from that scripture in the 2nd. Galatians, 20th. "who loved me and gave himself for me;" he here spoke of the freeness of Christ's love to vile sinners, yea to the very worst of sinners, and three things: First, that is free love that was never deserved, and again, secondly, that is free love that was never desired, and thirdly, finally, that is free love that can never be requited. O! how these particulars suited my case, as if it had been fitted for none but me, and how did it soften and melt my hard heart. I scarce knew how I got home. In this comfortable state of mind I went many a day; also, met with something encouraging under Mr. Griffith,* and Mr. Vening.† I had a brave time of it during my stay in the city, and I heartily wished it might have lasted long; but having served a little short of three years, to my mistress and my own satisfaction, my dear mother grew impatient of my stay, and sent letter after letter, importuning me to come to Bradford again; so I did at last tell my mistress, and

* Probably Mr. George Griffith who was at the Charter House, and preached a week-day Lecture at St. Bartholomew's near the Exchange. See Calamy, Account, &c. p. 57.

† Ralph Venning, M. A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, Lecturer of St. Olave's, Southwark, a popular preacher of the time. See Calamy, Account, &c. p. 22.

shewed her some of the letters, which grieved her much, being loath to part with me. She offered me very great and kind offers to persuade me to stay with her, but at last she submitted, and gave me leave to go, but would often tell me, that none other but my mother should have got me from her. I left her, and met with a friend who solicited me to go to one Alderman Andrews, who offered to give me ten pounds a year, from the report he had of me, and if he liked me he would not stick to give me twenty pounds a year; and whenever I left him he would promote me to some place of trust and profit; but my duty to my mother carried me against the stream and tide of pleasure, ease, and profit, so that I came down to my native soil again, having been wonderfully favored by divine providence, and had got as much money as bought me a house of Mr. Horne, and thither I removed my dear mother, where she, and I, and one sister, lived together some time; but afterwards Samuel Bayley, a worthy man and a good friend of my good mother's, by his solicitations with her had prevailed to get her consent that I should go into the north, to a place called Gretam Hospital to be a steward for his wife's father, one Captain Askwith,* who had a place given him there worth 4 or 500 pounds a year, which the parliament had given him for what he had laid out in raising a troop of soldiers, and maintaining them in the wars. To this place and employment I went, and I bless God I did discharge my

* Greatham Hospital is in the parish of Greatham, county of Durham, endowed in 1272 by Peter de Montfort. The Hospital presents to the Church. Captain Simon Askew (as he is called in some documents) was appointed Master in 1653, by the Parliament. (Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 328.) At the Restoration he accepted the Breda pardon, and signed a declaration to that effect at Hartlepool, 8th June, 1660, in which document he spells his name Askwith, as in Lister's narrative.

place and trust faithfully and to great satisfaction, so that my master himself said that he never saw a finer account in all his life. Here I stayed scarcely two years. It is true I had power and authority enough, having all the servants at my command, and all that was my master's to dispose of. All the people in the town were my master's tenants, and I in a remote sense set over them to receive rents, bargain with them for renewing of leases, repairs of houses, and what fell out any way to dispose and order. But, O! what a world of business had I to go through, to go to markets and fair, to buy and sell cattle and corn, some thousands of bushels of all kinds of corn, to sell to the merchants to go to the sea, all the summer-time especially, my hands being full all the day, and all that I did on the day I wrote down before I went to bed, so that I got very little sleep.

I remember one night I was writing at a little chamber table, and had a wax candle burning, and dropt asleep. But, by a good providence, one of the maids being late up, and coming near my chamber door as she went to bed, thought there was a greater light in my chamber than usual: so she called upon me, and I presently awaked, and saw my candle all on a flame, and it had made some impression on the table; yet I quickly put it out, and prevented any further harm, or danger. Bless the Lord, O my soul, for this merciful providence! It became an effectual warning to me ever after; so that when, at any time, I found myself inclined to sleep, stepping up and taking two or three turns in the chamber, I could shake it off, and go to my business again.

As we had but poor preaching here, I thought of what I had at London, and frequently thought of going there again; and knowing a merchant at Hartlepool, who had a ship, and traded much to London with corn and butter, (it being a very fruitful country, and I sold him great

quantities of corn.) I consulted with him, and told him my purpose was to go to London again. He said he would take me in his ship for nothing, and, if the wind was fair, we might reach London in two or three days. But I could not get my mind to it without my mother's leave.

All my thoughts of this nature were, in a short time, at an end, for I had one day occasion to go to Hartlepool to receive a good quantity of money of the merchant above-mentioned; but it proved to be a day wherein the head officers of that city* met about some weighty matters, and this merchant was mayor that year, and staid there late, and then I had to receive my money after he came, which made me late in the evening.

Near the city was a little arm of the sea, that went up into the land; it was low when the tide was gone in, that one might wade it, and it would but take one to the knees; but when the tide was up, a good large vessel might ride there. Now had it been light, as it was dark, I could have known by stoops whether I could ride it safely or no; and by riding two miles about, I might have gone and not come in the water. I sat on horseback at the side, debating what to do. I knew that the way was exceeding deep and dirty, and I should be starved in going that way, and my head ached very much. On the other hand I concluded the tide was so far out that it was very dangerous to venture over. Yet, thought I, could I but get through, though with difficulty,—if I get but to the land I may gallop home in a little time. Yet had I many fears upon me, for I had one time before this ventured when the tide was high, but going back, and so weak, and in the day time; yet then I was taken off my horse, and laid on my back in my cloak, and it bore me up, and the seamen seeing me, came quickly with a boat,

* Hartlepool is an ancient corporate town in the county of Durham. It is singular that Lister should call it a city.

and saved my life. O what a hand of mercy did appear in this salvation! One would think I should never have forgotten it, and yet within half a year's time I made this foolish and desperate adventure again. Well, in I went, but by the time I had got fifteen or twenty yards into the water, I would have given a kingdom, if I had had one, to have been back again, but durst not, by any means, turn my horse about; if I had, surely I had been lost, every tide did flow so high, that my boots and pockets were full. Great streams went over the horse's neck, and behind me, over the saddle. Now, thought I, my life is gone, my horse can never be able to swim to the far side, and I expected that every wave that came rolling upon us, would drive us down, and I had no human help, no apparent means to save our lives, only as the waves came upon us, I endeavoured to bear up my horse's head and breast as well as I could against them, lest, coming full upon his broad-side, they should force him down, and overwhelm both him and me. Then I cried unto the Lord, who can do everything; and I thought, though I be in the sea, I am not in the whale's belly; and if I was, yet God could command deliverance for me; so I depended upon his ability to save me; and though I expected every minute to be cast away by every succeeding wave, yet the Lord had me in his hand all the while, and though my fears began to sink my spirits, yet God enabled the horse to grapple with the flood, and swim safe to shore: yet even then I was so overwhelmed with affright that, though I was safely delivered and upon dry land, yet could I hardly believe it, or tell where I was, though God's almighty arm had brought me safe to the dry land.

O! what a wonderful deliverance was this! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name.

I hasted home in a sad bath, and sent a man to take good care of the horse. I called one of the maids to warm me a shirt, another to warm my bed, and a third to get me something hot to drink, hoping to secure me from harm; so to bed I went, and got some little sleep. But in the morning I was so sick and ill that I could not rise, and my food began to be disagreeable to me, and that day, and the next night, my appetite and sleep departed from me.

The day after that I sent my water to a physician, who sent me word he could make no judgment of my case, but I might send my water to him the next day, and he would give me his thoughts upon it; but then, also, he said he could not tell what my disorder should be, except the person had been under some sad overpowering fear. All this time he knew nothing of my being in the water. But I knew my danger and fear had been great, almost too great for me to bear. Well, in a short time, I fell into a violent fever, in which, after I had laid some weeks in great extremity, and the doctor ordering me nothing but some easy cordial things, I desired him to give me a bill, for I purposed employing another man, for though I was not against cordials for relieving and strengthening nature, yet I thought it very proper to have some working physic that might be likely to weaken and remove the distemper, which he was not willing to give me. So, having paid him off, I sent to a physician at Durham, twelve miles off. He was a good man, I believe, and they said a young convert. His name was Doctor Tunstall. He sent me something by my messenger, and said he would come to-morrow and see me, which he did: He first let me blood, and then gave me what he thought proper; and God so blessed his prescriptions, that I did soon recover; but one very warm day, I desired to be helped down the stairs; and being down, I

longed to go into the garden, and did so a few minutes, but soon repented my folly, for next morning I was confined to my bed, and much worse than before. I sent to the doctor again, and when he came, and had seen, and consulted with me a little, he was much discouraged, concluding my case far more dangerous than it was before: yet I desired him to do his best for me, and the will of the Lord be done.

I now lay long in a languishing condition, expecting nothing but death; and being easy, and well satisfied about my future state, was borne up comfortably. But one day he told my master's daughter, that if I had any friends or relations that would desire to see me alive, it was needful to let them know immediately, for he despaired of my life. "Oh! Sir," says she, "he hath an own mother, but she is three-score miles off, or near it." "Alas!" says he, "I fear he will be gone before she can see him." However, she sent a man with all speed to Bradford, to my dear and tender mother, and she, and a brother-in-law that I had, came that long and tedious journey to see me.

She found me alive, but I did not know her; yet in two days I was a little better, and knew my dear mother; and I believe it did me much good, and helped on my recovery, to have her with me, for ever afterwards I was better, but was brought exceeding low. After all this I fell into an ague, and shaked every day for twelve weeks. Then the doctor told me that unless my own country air would be of use to recover me, I was a dead man: so, as soon as I could conveniently, I resolved to try if, by short and easy journies, I might possibly get home.

I took my leave of all friends at Gretam, and rode upon an easy going horse, and two men to attend me; and though I was like an anatomy, and much afraid of riding in the cold air, and shaking by the way, (the last fit of

which I had at Knaresborough,) yet at last I got home, and God so graciously ordered it, that there I shook hands with that shaking distemper, and never had the least return of it to this day. O! what a mercy was it that God then shewed towards me! and how often have I stood wondering at it; for at this very time there was a man that used to trade to Hartlepool weekly, and who had many years known when the water was rideable, and yet he ventured in as I did, and he and his horse were both drowned at the very time when I lay sick; and they told me when the tide was gone in he was found, and the fishes had eaten his hands and face. Now this might have been my case as well as his; and yet he was lost, and I was saved. O that now I could live more to God than ever I did, and prepare for my last summons!

Well, being now got back to Bradford again, among my old christian friends, they assisted me in returning a thanks-offering to the Lord for his past mercies, for I had been under a series of gracious and merciful providences for a long time past, and had experienced many gracious impressions upon my spirit, and my case was sweetly spoken to by one Mr. Pearson, from that text, in the 13th Luke, xxiv. "Strive to enter in at the strait gate, for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter and shall not be able." Well, being now got home, and about thirty years of age, I began to think of changing my state by marriage. I therefore desired my dear mother's advice and counsel in this case. I also consulted with and begged the advice of my christian friends, who commended to me one Sarah Denton, a young virgin, that I did not know. She was the daughter of one John Denton, a gracious holy man.

I contrived to see her, and liked her very well. After this, having my honoured mother's approbation and consent, after some time spent in prayer about it, I waited

for an opportunity to speak to her father; So having been at an exercise at Bradford one day, I walked up the town with him, and told him I had heard a good report of his daughter Sarah; and my friends thought she might be a suitable wife for me: so I begged his good leave and consent to speak to her, in order thereunto. He told me he was very willing, and I should be welcome to his house on that errand, whenever I pleased: for which I thanked him; and begged his leave to say a word or two more. "Well," said he, "say on." "Well," said I, "though I have heard your daughter much praised, yet I have no personal knowledge of her. If I be not satisfied when I come to discourse with her, will you not be offended, if I let her alone, and proceed no further?" "No, no," said he, "you shall be welcome to talk with her any time, and act according to your own discretion; and if you go no further in the affair, I shall be satisfied."

Upon this bottom and encouragement I went one afternoon, and the good man was just coming into the fold, so he went back again with me into the house, and I said, "you may easily imagine what makes me be here." "Well," said he, "you are welcome."

We then walked into the chamber, and he told me his daughter was making hay, but he would go to her, and send her to me; he did so; but she had not the confidence to come to me by herself, but brought her elder sister with her, she herself being a very bashful girl. I conversed with her at this time, and many times afterwards, and found her to be a woman of clear experience, and of a sweet natural temper; and after some time spent in courtship, she and I were well satisfied with each other. So we told her father and my good mother that we desired them to settle whatever they intended about our portions; upon which John Denton aforesaid, and Joshua Bailey, his brother-in-law, came to my mother's house to consult

about it. So after a short preamble my mother told them, that my portion was well known, being those houses and land that lay all together in that end of the town; as for money she knew I had little or none.

"Now brother," said Joshua Bailey, "you must tell Sarah what you will give your daughter."

"Well," says he, "I have, as you know, three daughters, and I purpose to give them all alike, but what that may be I know not; but however above an hundred pounds."

"Well," said my mother, "I do heartily give my son to your daughter, with what he hath, or I can help him to; and I desire you will give your daughter for a wife to my son, heartily and chearfully, and with her person give her for a portion what you please, for I am satisfied; I hope my son will find all that in your daughter that I have desired and looked for."

Then I asked when they would have us put an end to the affair by marriage: this they left to our own choice, when we saw it convenient. So both sides having got something ready, we resolved upon a day. Now at this time there was a law that justices should marry people; so we purposed to be married first by a justice more privately, and went to Halifax to Justice Farrar, none but my bride, and her father, and a brother-in-law, and my uncle and aunt Spencer, that met us there, being with us. So we brought the bride home to her father's house, and there left her for fourteen days, and then we intended to have the company of our friends; and I having an uncle who was a parson, one Mr. Edward Hill,* he offered to give us a wedding sermon, and if I had not known my wife since the justice married us, he would, after the

* Edward Hill was turned out of the living of Crofton, near Wakefield, in 1662, and died in 1669. See Calamy, Account, &c. p. 793.

sermon, marry us again; which he did, and after this we settled in our own house; and in a convenient time, my dear mother went to her house also.

With this wife I had two sons, David and Accepted; and though she was not a woman that made any great show in the world to attract people's notice, yet I think she was one of the meekest, wisest, and holiest women that lived in the days of her pilgrimage. Though I might have had a great deal more wealth with another woman, yet I was always abundantly well satisfied in the choice which God had made for me in her. What a mercy was it that the moving providence of God did direct me to this woman, though to me unknown; and ordered all the concurring circumstances to the great satisfaction both of ourselves and our parents on both sides; so great goodness has God manifested towards me!

Having been married something above a year, my wife was safely delivered of a son, whom we called David, and did dedicate him to the Lord's work and service in the Lord's ministry, if he would please to accept of him.

We kept him at school, but greatly to his disadvantage, for some years, by being under bad masters. At last we found him a better master; but I was obliged to table him from home for near five years. Then I got Mr. Noble to examine him, who found him to have been well instructed: but in a little time his master left the school, and became a popish priest. I was then at a loss where to send him; however, I went to Morley, where Mr. Noble* taught a school at that time, and put my son under him. He was a diligent and faithful man, and my son

* Mr. Noble was a self-taught man, who had a school in good report at Morley. He was admitted to the ministry among the Independents, and had the charge of a congregation at Heckmonwicke. He published in 1700, 'The Vision and Prophecies of Daniel explained,' &c.

profited much with him, till he was fit for university-learning, but it was not convenient for me to send him to the university at this time, I therefore let him remain another year with his old master, to learn logick; and in that time he became a good proficient in the art, before he went to Mr. Frankland;* and when he came from Morley he gave me a very satisfying account of a work of grace upon his heart, which made me hope that God designed him for his own service. So having previously wrote to Mr. Frankland on the subject, I sent him thither in the seventeenth year of his age,† and there he remained about three years and a half, and then Mr. Frankland sent a messenger to inform me my son was fallen sick of a fever, and was dangerously ill. I went to see him, and found him very weak. I staid about a week with him, and all that time he seemed better, and there was a great probability of his recovery. It being the beginning of winter, I thought it best for him to come home, and having ordered for his journey as soon as he should be able to

* Richard Frankland, M. A. who was ejected from the living of Bishop Auckland, by the Uniformity Act, in 1662. He was a man of considerable learning, and being in the prime of life at the time when he was removed from the public ministry, he undertook to conduct an academy for the education of men who were designed for the ministry among the Non-conformists. For this employment he was thought to be singularly well qualified. When Cromwell had formed the design of establishing a college at Durham for the education of ministers and others, Mr. Frankland was one of the persons intended to be the tutors. His own academy was conducted by him from 1669 to the time of his death in 1698, in which period near three hundred persons, most of whom were ministers among the Dissenters, were educated by him. He was not able, owing to the state of the times, to remain in one place, and we find him at Rathmel and Calton in Craven, at Attercliffe near Sheffield, and at Hatland near Kendal in Westmoreland. The academy was at the last named place when the two Listers were studying under him. Natland

† *In the seventeenth year of his age.* He entered the academy May 12, 1675, according to a MS. list of the pupils.

travel, I left him, expecting him to follow me; but in fourteen days all our hopes were overturned, for Mr. Frankland sent another messenger to tell me he was worse after I went away, and desired me to go again; which I did, and got thither on Thursday, in the afternoon. My son was glad to see me, yet feared I should get my death by those long journies, being very cold, frosty, and snowy weather. He was now grown very weak, yet very sensible of his case, and on Saturday, in the evening, he died very comfortably, having only preached three times to great satisfaction, in the one and twentieth year of his age. So I had the happiness to be with him at his death; and wrote a letter to my dear wife that night,—sent it to her on the Monday, and on the Tuesday I laid him in his grave at Kendall, and on the Thursday I got home again. I feared this sad stroke would break my wife's heart, but, blessed be God! she bore it with uncommon fortitude.

A long time before this, my wife, and myself, were admitted into the church at Kipping,* with which we walked satisfyingly many years. The church called one Mr. Whitehurst to be pastor to them, and he gave content some years; yet he proved, at last, so wedded to the doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ, as he called it, together

* Kipping is in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a few miles north-west of Bradford. Here was one of the congregations formed by the ejected ministers, which continues to exist at the present day. This tract contains perhaps the best information that can now be collected concerning the early history of the society, which appears to have been more than usually distracted by variety of opinion. Of Mr. Whitehurst, whose doctrine of "The Kingdom of Christ" was probably that better known by the appellation of "The Fifth Monarchy," there is some account by Dr. Calamy. Of Matthew Smith, who was suspected of being less orthodox than the generality of his brethren in the non-conformist ministry in Yorkshire, there is an account in Watson's History of the Parish of Halifax.

with other notions, from which he could not be got, that it made a breach in the church: some of his hearers left him, and others walked with him till new matters of dissatisfaction broke out, and then they also left him to provide for himself. He then went to Burlington, and died. After he was gone, the church at Kipping was again united, and walked sweetly together, but could not get a pastor.

I had but two children with my wife, and the name of the younger was Accepted: the reason why I called him so was this; my dear wife had been, for some years, comfortably satisfied about her spiritual welfare, and her interest in Christ, yet at this time the Lord was pleased to carry it towards her so strangely, that she fell under doubts and fears about her interest in him, and relation to him, when she was great with this child. This cloud and darkness, occasioned by Christ's withdrawing from her, had such an effect upon her, as caused her to walk with an unwonted sadness for most part of three days; but then the Lord was pleased to shine in upon her soul again, to her great satisfaction, and she was filled with peace and joy through believing; in consideration of which, we resolved to give him this name; and God hath made him acceptable to many souls, though it pleased the Lord to afflict him with a great weakness in his joints, so that he could not go without crutches, yet he was enabled to pray and preach two or three hours together upon them, to the awakening, warning, and comforting of many that came to hear him, and attend upon his ministry.

We lived at Bradford about two years, and then an uncle of my dear wife's, called Samuel Bailey, died at Allerton, who, upon his death-bed, desired that we might remove thither, and have one half of the land, and his wife the other half, it being all too much for her to deal

with. So in a short time, as we were desired by all that were concerned in it, we went, there being two houses, and land enough for us both. All the inhabitants shewed great respect to us, and thanked God for bringing us thither. Joshua Bailey, my wife's uncle, abated forty shillings in the year of the rent, for which it had been let before; and one time he saw we had too few cows for the pasture, he went and bought us a new calved cow, and sent his man with her, and gave us her freely. Another time he brought us a purse with twenty pounds in it; nay, he and his wife too, were open-handed to us every day; which exceeded all expectation, but it lasted to his dying-day. By his will he gave my wife and her heirs for ever, the land he lived on, worth twenty pounds a year, and we lived very comfortably many years; during which time my uncle, aunt, and wife's mother died; my father-in-law was left alone, of which he grew weary, and solicited us to come and live with him, and he offered us such profitable terms that we thought of going. Before the time came in which we purposed to remove, he fell sick, and his master sent for him to heaven, where he longed to be. He would sometimes say to me in the times of God's withdrawments, "O! son, I am not able to bear under God's absence;" and in a few days he died. He was as gracious and holy a man as ever I knew.

My mother died after she had long followed and faithfully served the Lord; being an honour to her profession, a woman of a thousand, every way exemplary in her conversation, a pattern of holiness, an heiress of a kingdom that fades not away, and which she is now possessed of for ever. She left me rich in a stock of prayers, the answers to which I am reaping every day.

After the Black Bartholomew act was passed, when so many godly ministers turned non-conformists, and when

preaching and praying were such crimes in England, as to incur great fines and imprisonments, we had several houses where we met, as that at Kipping, and John Berry's, and our house, and sometimes at Horton. We had Mr. Ryther one year, and then he had a call to London; sometimes Mr. Root, sen.; Mr. Root, jun.; Mr. Ness; Mr. Marsden; Mr. Coats; Mr. Bailey, and others; and at last we got a man called Mr. Whitehurst, and he became our pastor.* After some years, a difference fell out betwixt him and several of the church members, and they withdrew from him, and I was one of those that did so. And about two years afterwards, we heard of one Mr. Smith, a young man that lived with his father at York, and a man of fine parts. To this man we sent, and desired him to come and preach with us, so he did, and stopped about a month, till we had a proof of him in part, and found he was not altogether of our judgment, yet we dealt plainly and faithfully with him, and gave him an account of the breach that happened amongst us. We gave him a call to preach the gospel to us, which he accepted. Having been with us about seven or eight years, the good people about Mixenden and Warley invited him to preach with them on some week days, and they began to covet him, and made some offers to him to come and preach every other Lord's-Day with them, which he consented to. I went there winter and summer, many years, but my dear wife was deprived of the means, not

* All these persons except Mr. Bailey were ministers who had left the Church on the passing of the Act for Uniformity, and whoever is curious to know something of them may consult the writings of Dr. Calamy, who has done ample justice to the ministers excluded by that Act, and performed a most valuable service for the non-conforming body, or at least that small portion of it who are solicitous to know something of the founders of their interest. Mr. Bailey was one of the first persons who entered the non-conforming ministry as a non-conformist. Much was expected from him for he was pious, zealous, rich and hospitable: but he died at an early period of life.

being able to travel so far. Our son Accepted being now fit for university learning, we spoke to Mr. Smith to instruct him, which he was willing to do; knowing him to be a good scholar; he remained with him about three years, and in the last year he broke his thigh, in consequence of which we feared he would not be able to stand to preach, so we purposed to provide a school for him, and built a very convenient room for that purpose; but a neighbouring schoolmaster who pretended much respect and kindness for him, betrayed him into the Spiritual Court at York, by which he was prosecuted, for teaching without a licence, and though he had good abilities, and I had some friends that used their utmost endeavours to obtain a licence for him, yet all would not do, unless he would subscribe and swear against his conscience. He therefore desisted from his purpose for the present, and gave himself up to the study of the scriptures, the better to prepare himself for the work of the ministry; and about this time Mr. Smith, upon some slight occasion, resolved to leave Kipping, and go to Mixenden, which he did, and in a little time repented, and would have come again, but we had no desire of him, having gone away in such a blameable manner. We got the neighbouring ministers, and others, to supply the place; and after a certain time, the church that used to meet at Kipping, solicited my son to preach there, which he long refused to do upon a double account; first, the great weakness of his body, fearing he would not be able to stand; secondly, the deep sense he had of his own inability for it. Yet they continued to importune him from time to time, but he put them off a long season, but he did preach a little in our own house, where many came to hear him. At last he was prevailed upon, chiefly by the moving arguments of the good Doctor Hall,* to accept of their

* Dr. Hall, a physician, who appears to have been the principal person in the congregation at Kipping.

invitation. The people gave him a call to preach the gospel to them, which he accepted; and promised to continue with them one quarter of a year, which he did, and they renewed their call every quarter.

Upon the 17th day of October, in the year 1693, my son fell from his horse, and broke both his thighs, having been at Leeds to preach, and he lay nine Lord's-Days, and then he was enabled to preach again. During this time he had a call to Clifford,* and went thither some few days, but he could not see his way clearly, so he resolved not to go, but continued at Kipping; yet not to his satisfaction, for though they often pressed him to become their settled pastor, yet they were so divided among themselves, by contrary opinions, and the members of the church being some of them old men, and most of them living at so great a distance, that they could with difficulty enjoy communion with their brethren, that he could not accept of their call to office. But, however, he preached the gospel to them, and often told them, that he would advise them to look out for a man that was fitter to serve them. It happened that some of the good men of Bingley,† came and desired that my son might go every other Lord's-Day, and preach there; unto which, after some discourse about it, the people at Kipping consented and my son was willing to go for one quarter of a year to make trial. So it was concluded.

He went one quarter, and at the end thereof, they renewed their call. But during this time, having been preaching at Kipping, upon the 20th day of January, in the year 1695, his horse's foot stuck fast in a hole of the ice, and in endeavouring to get it loose, my son fell

* Clifford is an obscure village not far from Tadcaster, where was one of the chapels founded by the non-conformists of the first race.

† At Bingley also was one of the original chapels of the non-conformists.

off, and broke both his thighs again, and lay silent other seven Lord's days, and then he was enabled to stand and preach again. But now our fears of future dangers were so great, that we durst not think of his riding on horseback any more; and the good people of Bingley now renewed their call to my son for good and all, and had one strong argument on their side, and that was, the house and chapel were both under one roof. This was a capital consideration under our circumstances; and as we knew they wanted a settled pastor at Kipping, and seeing my son could not accept of that office with them, we thought it best to remove, so that a way might be made for another to come that might answer their desire; and not being under any promise of staying at Kipping any longer than from quarter to quarter, he inclined to go to Bingley, and, after long consultation, promised to go in a quarter of a year. Accordingly at the time they sent horses and carts, and fetched us and almost all we had away in one day.

We came to this place in the month of May, 1695, and the Lord gave us favor in the eyes of all the inhabitants of the town, (except two men,) who behaved with great love and kindness towards us; and yet but few of the town's people came to hear my son preach; but the congregation chiefly consisted of persons that came from other places. Having been here about two years, my dear wife died, and she lieth asleep in this place till the blessed morning of the resurrection, when the great jubilee-trumpet shall sound, and all the prisoners of death and the grave shall arise, and then she shall appear a blessed and glorious creature indeed.

Here she left my son and me in an evil, tempting, and ensnaring world, to shift for ourselves as well as we could. About three years after my dear wife's death, I was attacked by a most violent fever, which was then very

fatal in the neighbourhood. Under this distemper I was afflicted with very great sweatings, and extreme coughing for two or three hours together, with but very little intermission; and also with the most afflicting thirst I ever experienced; all which brought me very low, so that for a week or ten days I was, in the judgment of almost all spectators, a gone man; and I had received the sentence of death in my own apprehension; and yet, at last, even to a wonder, God was pleased to rebuke the distemper, and raise me up again. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and and all that is within me praise his holy name!" Now what shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits bestowed upon me? "I will take the cup of salvation, and praise his name." And I would pray that I may be helped to walk with God a little while as Enoch did, passing the time of my sojourning here with fear, looking for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. During our stay at Bingley, my son had many calls from the church at Kipping, to return to them again, and all the good people at Bingley were often desiring him to accept of the office of a settled pastor amongst them.

With this circumstance my son was much embarrassed, and wrote to the neighbouring ministers, desiring them to meet and consult upon the case, and favor him with their opinion and advice upon the subject. They met accordingly, but arguments of considerable weight appearing on both sides, and they being unwilling to offend either party, returned doubtful answers, and came to no positive conclusion, but left it, at last, to my son, to act according to his own inclination. He was now more embarrassed than before: however, Mr. Whitaker,* and

* Thomas Whitaker, A. M., one of the first who entered on the ministry among the non-conformists, not having been in the ministry before the Act of Uniformity. His ministerial life was passed at Leeds, where he and his family lived a century in excellent reputation

Mr. Noble, declared for his return to Kipping. After a long time of debating, praying, and weighing matters over in his own mind, he thought he had a call from heaven to that old broken and shattered church; and his heart inclined to see if the Lord would please to use him as repairer of the breaches there, and hoping there might be a prospect of some good to be done amongst the rising generation, as well of the children of the church-members, as of the other neighbours.

Having given the church at Kipping a promise to go thither, they sent thirty men and as many horses and carts as carried all we had away, on the 22nd of July, 1702.

My son continued their pastor for the space of seven years, and on Thursday, the 25th February, fell sick, and died, to our great loss and trouble, but to his great gain.

So far Joseph Lister.

His father lived to see him buried; and he himself died exactly that day fortnight, and was buried on Sunday, March the 14th, 1709, being twelve weeks and four days short of completing his 82d year.*

and esteem. He preached the funeral sermon on the death of Joseph Lister and his son Accepted, which sermon is printed in a posthumous volume of his sermons, 8vo. 1712.

* There was printed at the time "A Sermon on the death of Mr. Joseph Lister, at Kipping in Bradford-Dale, who died April 1709." The text is John xi. 16. There is no biography. The only passage in which he and his son are particularly alluded to is this:

"You have lost an able and faithful minister of the New Testament, whose route prospered under all the infirmities of a crazy tabernacle, and who knew how 'rightly to divide the Word of Truth.' You have lost also an able, serious and experienced Christian; whose advice, counsel, example, has been your glory for many years. Two such lives gone from this earth, and gathered to heaven, as it were both in

one day! Oh what a wide gap has the removal of them made! and what a melancholy aspect hath it left on this assembly!"

Whitaker's Sermons, 8vo. 1712, p. 154.

In the Preface to these Sermons, which was written by Thomas Bradbury, a popular divine among the early Dissenters, it is said of them:—"Mr. Joseph Lister was an old disciple of great eminency for knowledge and holiness: He and his son, Mr. Accepted Lister, died within a very little time of one another. The Sermon was preached to the Church, which the one served as Deacon, the other as Pastor."

THE

RIDER OF THE WHITE HORSE

And His ARMY, Their late good Successe in YORKE-SHIERE.

OR

A true and faithfull Relation of that famous and wonderfull victory at *Bradford*, obtained by the Club-men there, with all the circumstances thereof.

AND OF

The taking of *Leeds* and *Wakefield* by the same men under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with the manner and circumstances thereof from good hands.

Seriously commended to the High Court of PARLIAMENT, and all that are of GODS side for their incouragement.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Underhill*, 1643.

BRADFORDS DELIVERANCE.

After the Lord Fairfax his excellency had retired from Tadcaster, the Lord of New-castle possessed himselfe of Pontefract, so making himselfe master of our western parts, block't up all passages betweene us and our strength, and there manifested his resolutions to sesse the whole county, but to exact extraordinary summes of those who had subscribed the Parliaments propositions.

We could expect nothing now, but that those townes should first suffer, who had bin most forward to assist the Parliament: Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax were principally aimed at. In Leeds the malignant humour being predominant, easily converted the towne into their temper. Bradford was the next place in their way, the towne most unable to resist them; and indeed whoever considers their dangers, weaknesse, and discouragements, must judge their attempt as worthy admiration as their successe. The maine body of the Popish army was within a dayes march of Bradford, some amongst them grievously exasperated by a dishonourable repulse from this towne not long before. So fare were we from expecting help from the Lord Fairfax, as we thought it scarce possible to seeke it. Our malignant spirits before charmed, now appeared breathing forth nothing but threatenings against those who had bin most active for the Parliament: and their apparition was so terrible, as it affrighted many of the best affected persons out of the towne; and thereupon, out goes our Royalists to bring in the Kings Catholick army. Some religious persons in the parish, considering

what danger might result both to their consciences and country from such cowardize and treachery (instigated by feare of perjury, if they should contribute any assistance against the Parliament, and care of their lives and estates, evidently endangered by a bare refusall without resistance) resolved to stand upon their guard, invited all the well affected in the parish to assist them, and entred the towne. When our malignants were returned with a letter from Sir William Saville, wherein he manifested an intention to burne and plunder, if we did not contribute to the maintenance of the Popish army. To which no other answer was return'd, then the apprehension of those who brought it, and had subscribed it; all couragious attempts, yea desperate in the account of many, who saw neither wisedome nor strength sufficient to manage them; there wanted both the head, body, and sinewes of warre, we had never a gentleman in the parish to command us, nor would any stranger be perswaded to undertake the charge. All our trained souldiers with their armes, were with the Lord Fairfax, and the most of those who were fitted for service as voluntiers. Nor could it be expected, that the well affected of our poore parish, could pay a garrison any long time, and none would tarry one day without pay. Our neighbours perceived this, and therefore judging our attempt desperate (as in the eye of reason it was) and fearing the issue would be our ruine, refused to helpe us, least they should perish with us. Nor wanted we discouragements from our own men, to instance in no more; the very night before the enemy assaulted us, the greatest part of them left us. This was on Saturday, Decemb: 17. The next morning about 9 of the clock, the enemy was discovered, approaching the east end of the towne; they were marshald in two bodies, the van was commanded by Colonel Evers (eldest sonne to the Lord Evers), wherein were 3 troopes of horse, 2 companies

of dragooners, 100 foot, 20 pyoniers, 2 drakes, the traine of artillery commanded by Major Carew a Dutch-man. The rere was commanded by Sir Francis Howard, wherein were his own and Captaine Hiliards troops, 6 companies of Collonel Eddringtons dragooners, and a 100 foote. Collonel Goring came along with them, and some say the Earle of Newport; but whether they had any charge or no in this expedition I heare not. All these our Yorkshiere gentlemen had procured of the Lord of New-castle, as though Sir William Savils regiment, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Thomas Gleman and Sir John Gothericks troopes, Sir Ingram Hopton, Captain Nevill, Captaine Batt, Captaine Bins companies had not bin sufficient to have swallowed our despicable towne. I should now shew how our men were marshald, but 'tis a hard matter to marshall those who had neither commanders, collours, nor distinct companies. The night before, we had borrowed a commander of Hallifax, who had neere upon 40 musquets and calievers, in towne about 30 fowling, birding, and smaller peeces, and well nigh twice as many club-men. These our Captaine disposed in severall parts of the towne, 10 or 12 of our best marks-men upon the steeple, and some in the church; who being next the enemy, awaited not their warning peece, but at the first sight gave fire upon them bravely. The enemy who expected a surrender, rather then resistance, being herewith something daunted: and perceiving how advantagious the steeple was to us, presently possest themselves of some houses not farre from the church, very convenient for the shelter of their men, and planting of their ordnance, and from thence sent out Sir John Gothericks troope, who partly to divert us from hindring them planting their canon, and partly to hinder the parish from comming to our aid, past through some parish villages on the one side of the towne, robbed a woman, most cowardly slew two naked

men, and so came within sight of our sentinell at the west end of the towne. Our musquetiers there discharged at them, shot 2 or 3 horses, whereof one of them lightly wounded was brought into towne; and in a short space (partly by our shot, partly by the approach of some club-men from Bingley) they were forced to retire back to their strength. In the meane time their canons were planted in places most convenient for battering the steeple, (which did most annoy them) and scowring of Kirkgate, downe which our men must upon necessity march to resist them. This done, Major Carew draws down some foot, and therewith takes two houses within 30 yards of the church, and this he did without any other impeachment then from the steeple; we having not any strength to sally out upon them, from these houses they plaid upon the church very hotly, and the church upon them. Our steeple had a notable advantage of them, which our musquitiers there especially improved against them, for when any buffe or skarlet coat appeared, they laid 2 or 3 of their peeces in one hole, and discharged at once upon them with good successe, and thereby deterred the rest from relieving their men in the houses, and thus they continued till high-noone, about which time there came to our aid from Halifax some fire-men and many clubbs, such of these as came to fight, were forthwith drawne downe to service, some of them were placed in the church, others in lanes neare the fore-said houses; the church and lanes kept the houses in play, and the steeple hindred the enemy from relieving the houses. But this was not the way to repell the enemy. The largenesse of the church windowes, and smalnesse of the houses, made their assault secure, and our defence dangerous, which our men perceiving, resolved to win or lose all at once; watching an opportunity betwixt the discharge and charge of the enemy, they sallyed out of the church, and being seconded by those in the

lanes, rushed in upon the houses, burst open the doores, slew those that resisted, tooke those who yeelded; the rest fled into the next field, whither some few of ours followed (the greatest part being employed in conveying the men and munition which the enemy had left behind them;) and in the field the skirmish was hotter then ever. Our men were too eager to keepe ranke or file, though they had knowne howe to keepe it, and indeed their disorder was an advantage to us, for mixing themselves with the enemy, they fought securely in the mouth of the enemies canon, and in the eye of one body of their forces, both placed in the field above them; the enemy not daring to discharge, least with them they should slay their own men (otherwise, they having 10 fire-men for one, might have cut us off in an instant) nor could ours use their muskets otherwise then as clubbs. To speake ingeniously, their commanders exasperated by the cowardize of their common souldiers, manifested great courage, but they smarted for it; our sythes and clubbs now and then reaching them, and none else did they aime at. One amongst the rest in a scarlet coate, our club-men had got hold of (and he in all probability, as some credible reports give us occasion to beleeve, was Collonel Goring) and were spoiling him. Their horse fearing the losse of such a man, became more couragious then they intended, leaped over the hedge and rode full upon our men, forcing them to give a little ground; too much (alas! that they had known him) to lose such a man, but they quickly recovered the ground 'tho they lost the man; doubled their courage, would neither give nor take quarter; (nor was this their cruelty, as the enemy complaines, but their ignorance) and in the end forced both men and horse to leave the field; and yet could not we keepe it, for we being separated from theirs, the musketiers had liberty to play upon us; and indeed they rained such a shower of lead amongst our men, as

forced them to retreat for shelter to the next hedge, and so hindred them from pursuing, till they had removed their canons. Their ordnance all this time played upon us, one of them ranged an 8 pound bullet; yet see the Lords mercy to us: that which was planted against the steeple never hit it; another intended for the skouring of Kirkgate, 'tho planted in as advantagious a place as they desired, 'tho the street was continually crowded with people; yea, though many of their bullets hit the houses, and some the street, yet was nobody at all hurt therewith; they bored indeed 3 or 4 houses, yet (which is observable) did most harme to a malignants; and thus the terror of the Lord, and of us, falling upon them, sending their foot and artillery formost, away they went, (using their feet better then they used their hands) and about 50 of our clubbs and muskets after them; which courage in ours, did most of all astonish the enemy; who say, no 50 men in the world, excepte they were madd or drunke, would have pursued a thousand. Our men, indeed, shot as they were madd, and the enemy fell as they were drunke, and so we will divide it. Some discharged 10 some 12 times in the pursuit; and having the whole body of the enemy for their butt, it may easily be imagined what good execution they did in a miles march (for so farre they pursued them) even to the Moore, where fearing to be environed by their horse, they retired, some of them so wearied with this 8 houres hot service, as they could scarce returne to the towne. One thing I cannot omit, a hearty round-head left by his comrades, environed with the enemies horse, discharged his musket upon one, strooke downe anothers horse with the thick end of it, broke a thirds sword, beating it backe to his throat, and put them all to flight; which (though as the rest wonderfull) I dare pawne my credit to be true. And thus ended our skirmish; wherein there was

Slaine of theirs, Sir John Harper, (as one Savile taken at Halifax confesseth), Captaine Wray (in whose pocket was found good store of gold, and a commission directed to Major Williams, which made us think him to be the man), and Captaine Bins (whom they carried to Leeds scarce dead, and buried two daies after), and many common souldiers, more I am perswaded then we shall ever know of. Of ours, I cannot heare of two that perished by the enemy in the fight.

Sir John Gothericke got a bastinado, had his horse killed with a syth, and about a 100 common souldiers were wounded, as we are informed from Leeds were they are billeted: Of ours, about 12, all curable except one or two.

Taken of theirs, Serjant Major Carew, (a man of great account, borne in the Low Countries of English parents,) 26 common souldiers, about 10 horses, 180 weight of pouder, and about 40 muskets; and thus God supplied our wants out of their store, giving us as many more muskets as we had, and well-nigh as much powder as we spent.

This was the issue of the fight, wherein nothing can be seene but God, and the wonderfull effects of his glorious attributes: Let us and our enemies both see it, that they may feare and shame, that we may trust and praise our God, who hath manifested himselfe to be the Lord of Hosts.

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A TRUE RELATION

OF

THE PASSAGES

AT

LEEDS,

ON MUNDAY, the 23. of JANUARY, 1642.

A TRUE RELATION, &c.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the Lord Generall Fairfax, marched from Bradford (six miles distant from Leeds) on Munday morning with 6 troopes of horse, and 3 companies of dragoones under the command of Sir Henry Fowles Knight, his Lieutenant Generall of the horse, and neare a 1000 musketeers, with 2000 club-men, under the command of Sir William Fairfax Colonell, and Lieutenant Generall of the foot. One company of these being dragoones under Capt. Mildmay, and about 30 musketiers and 1000 club-men marched on the south side of the river of Ayr to Hunslet-more above halfe a mile from Leeds, on the south-east side towards Wakefield: and the rest on north-side Ayr by Aperley-bridge (20 yards of Christall-bridge being broke downe by the enemy) to Woodhouse-more, on the west-side Leeds about a mile thence; where they commending the cause to God by prayer, Sir Thomas dispeeded a trumpeter to Sir William Savile, who commanded in chiefe in Leeds, requiring in writing that towne to be delivered him for the King and Parliament; which Sir William disdainfully answered and said, he used not to give answer to such frivolous tickets, being confident (it seems) that with the strength he had he could keepe the towne, wherein were about 2000 men. viz. 1500 foot, and 5 troops of horse and dragoons and two demiculverins.

Sir Thomas approached nearer the south-west side of the towne with his forts that came on the north-side Ayre,

and coming within view of the towne with banners displayed (about 36 colours) sent another trumpetter to Sir William, who shortly after by a trumpetter assured him he should get nothing but by fight, wherupon he drew out of his companies 5 colours of his expertest souldiers, and appointed them to march downe with Serjeant Major Forbes, Captaines Briggs, Lee, Francke, and Palmer, with his dragoones on foot, towards the water along the trenches, drawn two yards breadth and height from Mr. Harrisons new church along the south-side of the towne to the water, an inner trench being devided and drawne on the inside that long trench neare the waterside, compassed about the declivity of the hill a little above the water. Neare to and above which about a 100 musketiers were drawne out of the towne, and about 2 of the clock in the after-noone, gave fire from the inside of the works upon Sir Thomas his musketiers, who approaching nearer shrowded themselves under a hill at the south head of the great fields before the great long trench, and let fly at the said centry with no losse at all to either side, they within the trenches shooting too high, and the other at the trenches. Meane while Sir Wm Fairfax, Sir Tho. Norcliffe, and other Captains leading their companies to the west-side of the new church, and the troopes of horse attending the enemies out-roads in the lanes and fields on the west and north parts; and the forts of the south-side Ayre, approaching the bridge, forced the guarders to quit the works at the first centry, placed on the outside the houses towards Beiston, brake through the works, and shot at the other strong century at the bridge end, where the forts discharged upon them without any losse to either side, but seeing the very neare approach of the dragoons, musketiers, and many club men, and fearing the speedy forcing that place they instantly fetcht to the bridge the demiculverin. And after about an hours

time spent in vain shooting between the forts within and without the works on the south-side of the town, as aforesaid, Serjeant Major Forbes most bravely leading on his companies in the plain fields before the great trenches, his Lieutenant Horsefall of Halifax, Captaines Lee, Brigg, and Francke contended which should next follow, and Captain Chadwicks Lancashiere souldiers accompanied; th'enemy shot most vehemently from the trenches, yet kil'd none.

It was perceived by the forts on the south side Ayre, that if they could get some musketiers over the fields to the water side without danger by the cannon and muskets from the bridge, they could force the great centries from their works on the other side the river (in regard they had made no other defence against the south side water) and so open an easie passage to Ser. Major Forbs and his forces; whereupon by single persons they got to the water-side, and hid them in a little lane (James Nayler one of the dragooners being first), whither they had no sooner got, then the demiculverin from the bridge plaid neare them, and about 4 muskets from that little lane, and 2 from under a stump of a tree, a little above by the water side, discharged amongst the centry, and one man being there slain, the rest perceived their errour, and in conclusion fled apace out of the lower centry, which being espied by those on the south side Ayre (Serjeant Major Forbes and his company not discerning them, for the height of their works hindered) a great shout from those on the south side of the water discovered it to the serjeant-major, who with his forces comming downe to wards the water side was holpen by Lieutenant Horsfall, who lending him his shoulder to climbe the top of the works, he most furiously and boldly entred the works single; him his said Lieutenant (wading through the river side below the worke) next followed most resolutely,

then the rest followed, and M. Jonathan Scholefield (the minister at Croston chappell in Halifax Parish near Todmerden) in their company begun, and they sung the 1 verse of the 68 Psalm, *Let God arise, and then his enemies shall be scattered and those that hate him flee before him.* And instantly after the great shout on the south-side river, still informing of the enemies flight from the upper and next centry (where about 100 were) Serjeant Major entred that also, and M. Scholefield begun, and they sung another like verse. So these works being gained, the enemy fled into the houses, and shot again furiously at those who had entred their works, who pursuing their victory, went up along the inside the works to the third centry at the lane neare M. Metcalfes house, where fierce shot being made from a new house and all about, two men of Serjeant Major Forbes company were shot dead. Here Captain Lee entring that centry from the lane leading from Chrystall-bridge, was shot in the leg above the ankle ; some bones being broken and took out, he is likely shortly to recover. The victory they pursued, though with great difficulty; Captain Briggs drawing towards the old-church, was from an house shot under the chin neare the throat, and in the arme, though not mortally, as is hoped. The enemy flying along a street or lane, from the 2 centries neare the water into the heart of the towne, where the other demiculverin lay to guard that passage, Sir William met them, and enquiring the cause of their flight, was answered that their workes were entered; he called on them, go beat them out, promising to lead them, yet they denyed: which he seeing, and that 12 musketiers, drawne on bothe sides that lane by Mr. Scholefield had gained that cannon by killing the cannoneere (though with losse of a gray cotes, the one wherof being shot, did fight beyond the strength of a man) he and the rest, perceiving the towne lost, about an houre after

the first centry was entred, fled away, thinking to get over the bridge towards Wakefield, and some of them (upon occasion of the club-mens beating backe from that centry by shot from an house neare the bridge end) got, to the number of 40, by the south side water, downe toward Hunslet, but were many of them taken, amongst whom Captain Thirlwell. Sir William seeing that way blokt, with many others fled amain back to the old church, by the south-side whereof by fine force they made way through clubs and fouling peeces along the north-side Ayre towards Pomfret, Sir William being neare drowning in the passages. Many antients, Drums, and foot taken, and some slaine here, viz. Captain Widrington, Maud of Wake-field, Hunsworth of Leeds, and others; Captain Errington was drowned, so were M. Robinson vicar of Leeds and others, viz. M. Calvery of Calvery and M. Jackson of Leeds; and 460 common soulders taken, with about 14 barrels of gun-pouder, great store of match, 2 cannons and many muskets. So the towne being taken about 4 a clock, notice hereof came to Wakefield about 6, the garrison there about 12 quitted that place, and the malignants thereof, M. Nevile, Paulden, Reyser and the rest, conveyed what goods they could to Pomfret, whence also the next night they fled away with 30 carriages, and all except about 200, who keepe the castle; and Captains Birkehead and Wilson with about 200 muskets and neare 1400 club-men from about Almurbury, and 3 troops from Leeds, entred vacant Wakefield the same Tuesday, and that night, and Captain Radcliffe, and neare as many musketiers and club men on the next day from Quick, &c.

As the musketiers and club-men retreated from the water side after the first 2 centries were won, the cannon from the bridge played amongst them, and as they went on in the lane, leading to Beiston, it beat down the

barrs of a tenter which flew amongst them; and the next shot from it crusht the top of an house, yet did no more harme; these of Halifax parish, viz. one Michael Woodhead was shot upon his tin-buttons, and his doublet burst neare his heart, and the bruised bullet fell downe into his breeches, and no more hurt; John Milnes man, had his coat, dublet, and 2 shirts shot through to his coller bone on his back, whence the bullet rebounded and no hurt, but a little rotting of the flesh since, one Lilly, M. Thos. Listers man, had a bullet shot into the hilt of his sword, whereby the hilt was drawn out almost as small as wyre where the bullet light, and no hurt.

About 20 slain, 10 of Sir Tho. Fairfax part, wherof Sir Tho. Norcliffe lost 2 men, as they entered Leeds neare new church. The works cost about 500 lb. The 460 prisoners are all discharged (save about 20) upon oath taken never to serve against King and Parliament; and Leeds and Wakefield strongly guarded.

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'Whoso buyeth anything,
Hit is hys ant his offspryng.'

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'Helle gates y come now to,
And y wole that heo* un do
Wer ys now this gateward?
Me thuncketh he is a coward.'

The 'gateward,' or porter of hell, runs away, saying,

'Ich have herd wordes stronge,
Ne dar y her no lengore stonde;
Kepe the gates whoso may
Y lete them stonde ant renne away.'

The Saviour binds Satan in hell 'till that come domesday,' and apparently without any resistance: he is then received by Adam, Eve, Abraham, David, St. John the Baptist, and Moses. Adam says,

'Welcome louerd† god of londe
Godes sone ant godes sonde‡
Welcome louerd mote thou be
That thou wolt us come and se.'

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* They. † Lord. ‡ Messenger.

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